

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN, THAT PART  
ESPECIALLY NOW CALLED ENGLAND  
: FROM THE FIRST TRADITIONAL  
BEGINNING CONTINUED TO THE  
NORMAN CONQUEST. COLLECTED  
OUT OF THE ANTIENTEST AND BEST  
AUTHORS THEREOF

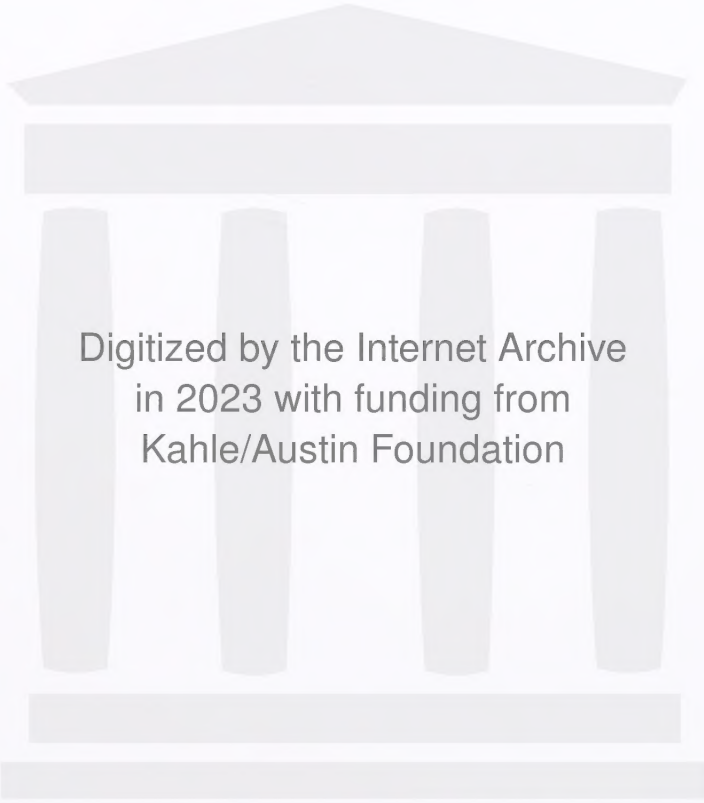
JOHN MILTON



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The history of Britain

WITHDRAWN  
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THE  
*HISTORY OF BRITAIN,*  
THAT PART ESPECIALLY, NOW CALLED  
**England.**  
BY JOHN MILTON,

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Printed by R. WILKS,  
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JOHN MILTON.

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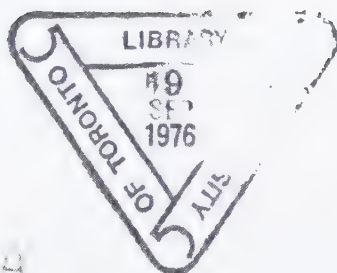
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## THE PREFACE.

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THE Prose-Works of our great Poet *Milton*, though they are less the objects of our admiration than his sublime poem of *Paradise Lost*, and some other of his fine poetical productions, as his *Lycidas*, his *Comus*, his *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, and his *Sampson Agonistes*, yet are generally held in great esteem by all true lovers of Civil and Religious Liberty. And therefore it seems much to be wished that they should be published in such a manner as should make it easy to such persons as should be desirous of perusing any particular tracts among them, to procure those tracts at a moderate price, without being obliged to buy the whole collection of them; which, in Doctor Birch's Edition of them, (which was published in the year 1753,) take up two very large volumes in quarto, and cannot, I believe, be purchased at this time for less than four guineas.

Now, amongst these prose-works of our great author, which I much admire, there is one, that, from the extensive nature of its subject, seems likely to attract the attention of almost every English reader, and may easily be contained in a single volume in octavo. I mean his History of England, from the earliest times to the completion of the conquest of the kingdom by William Duke



of Normandy, and his peaceable reception at London by the Chiefs of the English nation, and his solemn coronation there, as King of England, in December, in the year of Christ 1066. And I therefore have re-printed it in the present volume.

This History of England is declared in the title-page to have been collected out of the antientest and best authors who have treated thereof, and to have been printed from a copy that had been corrected by Milton himself. And at the bottoms of the several pages of it he has added notes, containing references to the works of the several authors from which he has taken his accounts of the events related in his text, and to the several chapters, or parts, of the said works, in which the said events are mentioned: by means of which references, the curious and inquisitive reader will have an opportunity, in case of a doubt concerning the truth of any fact related in the text of this History, to consult the original work from which it is taken. The first edition of this History was published by Milton himself in the year 1670, four years before his death, but with an omission of some political reflections on the conduct of the English nation since the death of King Charles the First, for which the permission of the Licencer of the Press, (which was at that time necessary to their publication,) could not be obtained. But, in a subsequent Edition in the reign of King William, it was published compleat as Milton had drawn it up, with those reflections at full length. And in the same manner it is re-printed in the present octavo volume.

And

And in the present edition of this History of England, I have divided the text of it into a greater number of Paragraphs than are found in the preceding editions, and I have added in the margins of many of them short abstracts of the matters contained in them; which, I believe, will be found very convenient to the readers, even in their first perusal of them, and still more so in their subsequent occasions to refer to them, in order to peruse any particular parts of them over-again, to which their attention shall be more immediately directed.

As to the style of Milton, in his prose-works written in the English language, and particularly in his History of England, from the earliest times to the coronation of King William the Conqueror, it seems to me, that Bishop Warburton has given us a very just description of it in the following lines of Doctor Birch's preface to his complete Edition of Milton's Prose-Works, page lxviii. "Mr. Warburton, in his Letter to me 'of Observations on Milton,' having observed, 'that his English Prose Style has in it something very singular and original, and has Grandeur, and Force, and Fire; but yet is quite unnatural, the Idiom and Turn of the Period being *Latin*;' further remarks, 'that it is best suited to his English History, this Air of Antique giving a good grace to it;' and further observes, 'that this History is written with great simplicity, contrary to his custom in his Prose-Works, and is the better for it; but that he sometimes rises to a suprising grandeur both in the sentiment and the expression.'" However, I have observed, that in some

few passages of this History, this Latin idiom and turn of the period, which Bishop Warburton has taken notice of, has thrown some obscurity on the true meaning of these passages; and in these passages I have ventured to insert a few words to make their true meaning more apparent. But these explanations are but few, and have only been made where, upon a close examination of the passages, I have been confident that the explanations given of them are well-founded.

At the end of this History of England written by Milton, I have re-printed a few Tracts of his writing, which relate to Civil Government, and to the advantages of a Government in the form of a Commonwealth, by a Grand Council of Representatives chosen by the People, together with a Council of State to exercise the executive powers of it in the administration of Justice in time of Peace, and to direct the military operations in time of war, but without a King, and without a House of Lords or hereditary Legislators. To this Republican, or Commonwealth, form of Government, Milton seems to have been most cordially devoted; and these Tracts in support of it are written with a wonderful degree of fervour and ability,

There will, however, be very little danger of their exciting amongst us a wish to introduce a Government of that form into Great Britain at the present day, after we have enjoyed, for 130 years together, the advantages of a free and mild Government, under the form of "a Limited Monarchy, with two Houses of Parliament,

exercising

exercising the power of making Laws, and imposing taxes, conjointly with the King," which, (after an interruption of it for about five years, with an arbitrary government, under the two Kings, Charles the Second, and James the Second) was restored to us by the glorious Revolution of the year 1688, under the great King, William the Third. And, if Milton had lived under a Limited Monarchy so conducted, he would, probably, have given up all his hopes and views of introducing amongst us the Republican form of Government, to which in these Tracts he seems to have been so much attached.

Lastly, before these several Prose-Works of Milton, I have re-printed a very authentick and valuable account of his Life, which was written by Mr. Edward Philips, (the elder of his two nephews, Edward and John Philips by his only sister Anne,) and was first published in the year 1694, twenty years after Milton's death.

FRANCIS MASERES

APRIL 30, 1818, INNER TEMPLE





THE  
LIFE OF MILTON.

BY EDWARD PHILIPS.

1694.

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OF all the several parts of History, that which sets forth the lives, and commemorates the most remarkable actions, sayings, or writings of famous and illustrious persons, whether in war or peace, whether many together, or any one in particular, as it is not the least useful in itself, so it is in highest vogue and esteem among the studious and reading part of mankind.

The most eminent in this way of history were, among the ancients, Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius, of the Greeks; the first wrote the Lives, for the most part, of the most renowned Heroes and Warriours of the Greeks and Romans; the other the Lives of the Ancient Greek Philosophers. And Cornelius Nepos (or as some will have it Æmilius Probus) of the Latins, who wrote the Lives of the most illustrious Greek and Roman Generals.

Among the moderns, Machiavel, a noble Florentine, who elegantly wrote the Life of Castruccio Castracana, lord of Lucca. And of our nation, sir Fulk Grevil, who wrote the Life of his most intimate friend, Sir Philip Sidney; Mr. Thomas Stanley, of Cumberlo-Green, who made a most elaborate improvement to the foresaid Laertius, by adding  
to

to what he found in him, what by diligent search and enquiry he collected from other authors of best authority; [and] Isaac Walton, who wrote the Lives of Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Donne, and, for his divine poems, the admired Mr. George Herbert. Lastly, not to mention several other biographers of considerable note, the great Gassendus of France, the worthy celebrator of two no less worthy subjects of his impartial pen; *viz.* the noble philosopher Epicurus, and the most politely learned virtuoso of his age, his country-man, monsieur Peiresk.

And pity it is the person whose memory we have here undertaken to perpetuate by recounting the most memorable transactions of his life (though his works sufficiently recommend him to the world), finds not a well-informed pen able to set him forth, equal with the best of those here mentioned; for doubtless, had his fame been as much spread through Europe in Thuanus's time, as now it is, and hath been for several years, he had justly merited from that great historian, an eulogy not inferiour to the highest by him given to all the learned and ingenious that lived within the compass of his History. For we may safely and justly affirm, that take him in all respects, for acumen of wit, quickness of apprehension, sagacity of judgement, depth of argument, and elegance of style, as well in Latin as English, as well in verse as prose, he is scarce to be paralleled by any the best of writers our nation hath in any age brought forth.

His birth.

He was born in London, in a house in Bread-street, (the lease whereof, as I take it, (but for certain it was a house in Bread-street,) became in time part of his estate,) in the year  
Of his father. of our Lord 1606 \*. His father John Milton, an honest,

\* 1603.

worthy,

worthy, and substantial citizen of London, by profession a scrivener; to which he voluntarily betook himself, by the advice and assistance of an intimate friend of his, eminent in that calling, upon his being cast out by his father, a bigoted Roman Catholic, for embracing, when young, the Protestant faith, and abjuring the Popish tenets: for he is said to have been descended of an ancient family of the Milton's, of Milton near Abingdon in Oxfordshire: where they had been a long time seated, as appears by the monument still to be seen in Milton church; till one of the family having taken the wrong side, in the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, was sequestered of all his estate, but what he held by his wife. However, certain it is, that this vocation he followed for many years, at his said house in Bread-street, with success suitable to his industry and prudent conduct of his affairs. Yet he did not so far quit his own generous and ingenious inclinations, as to make himself wholly a slave to the world; for he sometimes found vacant hours to the study (which he made his recreation) of the noble science of musick, in which he advanced to that perfection, that as I have been told, and as I take it by our author himself, he composed an *In Nomine* of forty parts: for which he was rewarded with a gold medal and chain by a Polish prince, to whom he presented it. However, this is a truth not to be denied, that for several songs of his composition, after the way of these times, (three or four of which are still to be seen in old Wilby's set of Ayres, besides some compositions of his in Ravenscroft's Psalms), he gained the reputation of a considerable master in this most charming of all the liberal sciences. Yet all this while he managed his grand affair of this world  
with

with such prudence and diligence, that by the assistance of Divine Providence favouring his honest endeavours, he gained a competent estate, whereby he was enabled to make a handsome provision both for the education and maintenance of his children; for three he had, and no more, all by one wife, Sarah of the family of the Castons, derived originally from Wales, a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness; John, the eldest, the subject of our present work; Christopher: and an only daughter, Ann:

Of Milton's  
brother  
Christopher.

Christopher being principally designed for the study of the common law of England, was entered young a student of the Inner-Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient benchler, and keeping close to that study and profession all his life-time, except in the time of the civil wars of England; when being a great favourer and assertor of the king's cause \*, and obnoxious to the parliament's side, by acting to his utmost power against them, so long as he kept his station at Reading; and after that town was taken by the parliament forces, being forced to quit his house there, he steered his course according to the motion of the king's army. But, when the war was ended with victory and success to the parliament party, by the valour of General Fairfax, and the craft and conduct of Cromwell, and his composition made by the help of his brother's interest with the then prevailing power, he betook himself again to his former study and profession, following chamber-practice every term; yet came to no advancement in the world in a long time, except some small employ in the town of Ipswich, where (and near it) he lived all the latter time of his life; for he was a person of a modest, quiet temper, pre-

\* he became obnoxious.

ferring

ferring justice and virtue before all worldly pleasure or grandeur. But in the beginning of the reign of king James the II., for his known integrity and ability in the law, he was by some persons of quality recommended to the king, and at a call of serjeants received the coif, and the same day was sworn one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and soon after made one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. But his years and indisposition not well brooking the fatigue of publick employment, he continued not long in either of these stations ; but having his *quietus est*, retired to a country life, his study and devotion.

Ann, the only daughter of the said John Milton the elder, had a considerable dowry given her by her father, in marriage with Edward Philips, (the son of Edward Philips, of Shrewsbury,) who, coming-up young to town, was bred-up in the Crown-office in Chancery, and at length came to be Secondary of the office under old Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides other children that dyed infants, two sons yet surviving, of whom more hereafter ; and by a second husband, Mr. Thomas Agar (who, upon the death of his intimate friend Mr. Philips, worthily succeeded in the place, which, except some time of exclusion before and during the interregnum, he held for many years, and left it to Mr. Thomas Milton, the son of the aforementioned Sir Christopher, who at this day executes it with great reputation and ability), two daughters, Mary, who died very young, and Ann, yet surviving.

Of Milton's  
sister Anne.

But to hasten back to our matter in hand. John, our author, (who was destin'd to be the ornament and glory of his countrey,) was sent, together with his brother, to Paul's School, whereof Dr. Gill, the elder, was then chief master ;

Of Milton's  
education.

where



where he was enter'd into the first rudiments of learning, and advanced therein with that admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and good instructions of his masters (for that he had another master, possibly at his father's house, appears by the *Fourth Elegy* of his Latin Poems written in his 18th year, to Thomas Young, pastor of the English Company of Merchants at Hamborough, wherein he owns and styles him his master), than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry; for he generally sate-up half the night, as well in voluntary improvements of his own choice, as the exact perfecting of his school-exercises,

He goes to  
the University  
of Cam-  
bridge.

So that at the age of 15\* he was full ripe for academick learning, and accordingly was sent to the University of Cambridge; where in Christ's College, under the tuition of a very eminent, learned, man, whose name I cannot call to mind, he studied seven years, and took his degree of Master of Arts, and for the extraordinary wit and reading he had shewn in his performances to attain his degree (some whereof, spoken at a *Vacation-Exercise* in his 19th year of age, are to be yet seen in his *Miscellaneous Poems*), he was lov'd and admir'd by the whole university, particularly by the fellows and most ingenious persons of his house. Among the rest there was a young gentleman, one Mr. King, with whom, for his great learning and parts, he had contracted a particular friendship and intimacy; whose death (for he was drown'd on the Irish seas in his passage from Chester to Ireland) he bewails in that most excellent monody in his forementioned poems, intituled *Lycidas*.

His friend-  
ship with  
Mr. King.

\* He had compleated his sixteenth year.

Never was the loss of a friend so elegantly lamented ; and among the rest of his *Juvenile Poems*, some he wrote at the age of 15, which contain a poetic genius scarce to be paralleled by any English writer.

Soon after he had taken his Master's degree, he thought fit to leave the university : not upon any disgust or discontent for want of preferment, as some ill-willers have reported ; nor upon any cause whatsoever forced to flie, as his detractors maliciously feign ; but from which aspersion he sufficiently clears himself in his *\*Second Answer to Alexander Morus*, the author of a book called *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cælum*, the chief of his calumniators ; in which he plainly makes it out, that after his leaving the university, (to the no small trouble of his fellow-collegiates, who in general regretted his absence,) he, for the space of five years, lived for the most part with his father and mother at their house at Horton, near Colebrook in Barkshire ; whither his father, having got an estate to his content, and left-off all business, was retired from the cares and fatigues of the world.

After seven years residence at Cambridge, Milton returns to his father's house at Horton, near Colebrook, in Barkshire, and there resides for five years.

After the said term of five years, his mother then dying, he was willing to add to his acquired learning the observation of foreign customs, manners, and institutions : and thereupon took a resolution to travel, more especially designing for Italy † : and accordingly, with his father's con-

His mother's death, in the year 1637. Milton then resolves to travel abroad.

\* *First Answer.*

† There is great confusion in all the biographers of Milton respecting the period of his travels ; and this confusion originates with Milton himself. He left Cambridge on taking his degree of master of arts in 1632 ; he assigns five years, as the interval in which he lived at home with his father and mother ; and his mother died in 1637 [Symmons], upon which he set out on his travels : thus far the story is

b

sent

An account of his  
travels.

sent and assistance, he put himself into an equipage suitable to such a design; and so, intending to go by the way of France, he set-out for Paris, accompanied onely with one man, who attended him through all his travels; for his prudence was his guide, and his learning his introduction and presentation to persons of most eminent quality. However, he had also a most civil and obliging letter of direction and advice from sir Henry Wootton, then provost of Eaton, and formerly resident ambassador from king James the First to the state of Venice; which letter is to be seen in the first edition of his *Miscellaneous Poems*.

At Paris, being recommended by the said sir Henry and other persons of quality, he went first to wait upon my Lord Scudamore, then ambassador in France from King Charles the First. My Lord received him with wonderful civility; and understanding he had a desire to make a visit to the great Hugo Grotius, he sent several of his attendants to wait upon him, and to present him in his name to that renowned Doctor and Statesman, who was at that time ambassador from Christina, Queen of Sweden, to the French King. Grotius took the visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth, and the high commendation

consistent. But Milton goes on to inform us that his travels occupied a space of fifteen months, and that he returned to England about the time of king Charles's second expedition against the Scots, "*eodem ferme tempore quo Carolus cum Scotis, rupta pace, bellum alterum quod vocant episcopale, redintegrabat; in quo fuis primo congressu regis copiis,—malo coactus, non sponte, parlamentum haud ita multo post convocavit.*" This can refer to no other period than the Rout at Newburn, August 1640; and Milton can less be suspected of an erroneous statement in these last two dates than the former. The result is, that a period of two years, from the spring 1637 to the spring 1639, is passed over in his narrative unnoticed. It was probably spent, like the former years, at Horton,

tions

tions he had heard of him. After a few days, not intending to make the usual tour of France, he took his leave of my lord, who at his departure from Paris, gave him letters to the English Merchants residing in any part through which he was to travel, in which they were requested to shew him all the kindness, and do him all the good offices that lay in their power.

From Paris he hastened on his journey to Nicæa, where he took shipping, and in a short space arrived at Genoa; from whence he went to Leghorn, thence to Pisa, and so to Florence. In this city he met with many charming objects, which invited him to stay a longer time than he intended; the pleasant situation of the place, the nobleness of the structures; the exact humanity and civility of the inhabitants, the more polite and refined sort of language there, than elsewhere. During the time of his stay here, which was about two months, he visited all the private academies of the city, which are places established for the improvement of wit and learning, and maintained a correspondence and perpetual friendship among gentlemen fitly qualified for such an institution: and such sort of academies there are in all or most of the most noted cities in Italy. Visiting these places, he was soon taken notice of by the most learned and ingenious of the nobility, and the grand wits of Florence, who caressed him with all the honours and civilities imaginable: particularly Jacobo Gaddi, Garolo Dati, Antonio Francini, Frescobaldo, Cultellino, Bonmatthei and Clementillo: whereof \*Gaddi hath a large elegant Italian canzonet in his praise, [and] Dati, a Latin epistle, both printed

His favourable reception at Florence.

\*It should be Francini!

before his Latin poems, together with a Latin distich of the marquess of Villa, and another of Selvaggi, and a Latin tetrastick of Giovanni Salsilli, a Roman.

From Florence he took his journey to Sienna, from thence to Rome ; where he was detained much about the same time he had been at Florence ; as well by his desire of seeing all the rarities and antiquities of that most glorious and renowned city, as by the conversation of Lucas Holstenius, and other learned and ingenious men ; who highly valued his acquaintance, and treated him with all possible respect.

From Rome he travelled to Naples, where he was introduced by a certain hermite, who accompanied him in his journey from Rome thither, into the knowledge of Giovanni Baptista Manso, marquess of Villa, a Neapolitan by birth, a person of high nobility, virtue and honour, to whom the famous Italian poet Torquato Tasso, wrote his treatise *De Amicitia* ; and moreover mentions him with great honour in that illustrious poem of his, intituled, *Gierusalemme Liberata*. This noble marquess received him with extraordinary respect and civility, and went with him himself to give him a sight of all that was of note and remark in the city, particularly the viceroys palace, and was often in person to visit him at his lodging. Moreover, this noble marquess honoured him so far as to make a Latin distich in his praise, as hath been already mentioned ; which being no less pithy than short, though already in print, it will not be unworth the while here to repeat :

*" Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, [mos,] si pictas sic,  
Non Anglus, verùm herclè Angelus ipse foret."*

\* This word relates to his being a Protestant, not a Roman-Catholic.—E. P.

In



In return of this honour, and in gratitude for the many favours and civilities received of him, he presented him at his departure with a large Latin eclogue, intituled, *Mansus*, afterwards published among his *Latin Poems*. The marquess at his taking leave of him, gave him this compliment, That he would have done him many more offices of kindness and civility, but was therefore rendered incapable, in regard he had been over-liberal in his speech against the religion of the country.

He had entertained some thoughts of passing over into Sicily and Greece, but was diverted by the news he received from England, that affairs there were tending towards a civil war; thinking it a thing unworthy in him to be taking his pleasure in foreign parts, while his countrymen at home were fighting for their liberty: but first resolved to see Rome once more; and though the merchants gave him a caution that the Jesuits were hatching designs against him in case he should return thither, by reason of the freedom he took in all his discourses of religion; nevertheless he ventured to prosecute his resolution, and to Rome the second time he went; determining with himself not industriously to begin to fall into any discourse about religion, but, being asked, not to deny or endeavour to conceal his own sentiments.

Two months he staid at Rome; and in all that time never flinched, but was ready to defend the orthodox faith against all opposers; and so well he succeeded therein, that, good Providence guarding him, he went safe from Rome back to Florence, where his return to his friends of that city was welcomed with as much joy and affection, as, had it

been to his friends and relations in his own country, he could not have come to a more joyful and welcome guest.

Here, having staid as long as at his first coming, excepting an excursion of a few days to Lucca, crossing the Apennine, and passing through Bononia and Ferrara, he arrived at Venice; where when he had spent a month's time in viewing of that stately city, and shipped-up a parcel of curious and rare books which he had picked-up in his travels (particularly a chest or two of choice musick-books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, namely, Luca Marenzo, Monte Verde, Horatio Vecchi, Cifa, the prince of Venosa, and several others), he took his course through Verona, Milan, and the Pænine Alps, and so by the lake Lemman to Geneva; where he staid for some time, and had daily converse with the most learned Giovanni Deodati, theology-professor in that city: and so returning through France, by the same way he had passed it going to Italy, he, after a peregrination of one complete year and about three months, arrived safe in England, about the time of the king's making his second expedition against the Scots.

He returns from his travels to England in the year 1640.

He undertakes the education of his two nephews Edward Philips, and John Philips, the children of his sister Anne.

Soon after his return, and visits paid to his father and other friends, he took him a lodging in St. Bride's Church Yard, at the house of one Russell, a tailor, where he first undertook the education and instruction of his sister's two sons, the younger whereof had been wholly committed to his charge and care.

The several Latin and Greek authors in which he instructed them,

And here by the way, I judge it not impertinent to mention the many authors both of the Latin and Greek, which  
through



through his excellent judgement and way of teaching, far above the pedantry of common publick schools (where such authors are scarce ever heard-of), were run-over within no greater compass of time, than from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin, the four grand authors *De Re Rustica*; Cato, Varro, Columella and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus, an ancient physician of the Romans; a great part of Pliny's Natural History; Vitruvius, his Architecture; Frontinus, his Stratagems; together with the two egregious poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Hesiod, a poet equal with Homer; Aratus, his *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia*; Dionysius Afer *De Situ Orbis*; Oppian's *Cynegeticks* and *Halieuticks*; Quintus Calaber, his Poem of the Trojan War continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius, his *Argonauticks*: and in prose, Plutarch's *Placita Philosophorum*, and *Περὶ Παιδείων Ἀγωγῆς* [sic]; Geminus's Astronomy; Xenophon's *Cyri Institutio*, and *Anabasis*; Ælian's *Tacticks*; and Polyænus, his *Warlike Stratagems*. Thus by teaching he in some measure increased his own knowledge, having the reading of all these authors, as it were, by proxy; and all this might, possibly, have conduced to the preserving of his eye-sight, had he not moreover been perpetually busied in his own laborious undertakings of the book or pen.

Nor did the time thus studiously employed in conquering the Greek and Latin tongues, hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, viz. the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, so far as to go through the Pentateuch, or Five Books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament: besides an

introduction into several arts and sciences, by reading Ursinus, his Arithmetick, Riff's Geometry, Petiscus, his Trigonometry, Joannes de Sacro Bosco *De Sphæra*; and into the Italian and French tongues, by reading in Italian *Giovan Villani's* History of the Transactions between several petty States of Italy; and in French a great part of Pierre Davity, the famous geographer of France in his time.

The Sunday's work was for the most part the reading each day a chapter of the Greek Testament, and hearing his learned exposition upon the same (and how this savoured of atheism in him, I leave to the courteous backbiter to judge). The next work after this, was the writing from his own dictation, some part, from time to time, of a treatise which he thought fit to collect from the ablest of divines who had written of that subject; Amesius, Wollebius, &c. viz. *A Perfect System of Divinity*, of which more hereafter.

Now persons so far manuctured into the highest paths of literature both divine and human, had they received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the instructor was indued with, what prodigies of wit and learning might they have proved! The scholars might in some degree have come near to the equalling of the master, or, at least, have, in some sort, made good what he seems to predict in the close of an Elegy he made in the seventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his sister's children (a daughter), who died in her infancy.

"Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,  
Her false, imagin'd, loss cease to lament,  
And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild:  
This if thou do, he will an offspring give,  
That till the world's last end shall make thy name to live."

But

But to return to the thread of our discourse. He made no long stay in his lodgings in St. Bride's Church Yard; necessity of having a place to dispose his books in, and other goods fit for the furnishing of a good handsome house, hastening him to take one; and accordingly a pretty garden-house he took in Aldersgate-street, at the end of an entry, and therefore the fitter for his turn, by the reason of the privacy; besides that there are few streets in London more free from noise than that. Here first it was that his academick erudition was put in practice, and vigorously proceeded, he himself giving an example to those under him (for it was not long after his taking this house, ere his elder nephew was put to board with him also) of hard study, and spare diet; only this advantage he had, that once in three weeks or a month, he would drop into the society of some young sparks of his acquaintance, the chief whereof were Mr. Alphry, and Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's-Inn, the beaus of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days; with these gentlemen he would so far make bold with his body, as now and then to keep a gawdy-day.

Milton takes a handsome house in Aldersgate-street. In the year 1643.

In this house he continued several years, in the one or two first whereof, he set-out several treatises, *viz.* that *Of Reformation*; that *Against Prelatical Episcopacy*; *The Reason of Church Government*; *The Defence of Smectimus*, at least the greatest part of them, but as I take it, all; and, some time after, one sheet *Of Education*, which he dedicated to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, he that wrote so much of husbandry (this sheet is printed at the end of the second edition of his *Poems*); and lastly, *Areopagitica*.

During the time also of his continuance in this house, there fell-out several occasions of the increasing of his family.

His father goes to live milly. His father, who till the taking of Reading by the Earl of Essex his forces, had lived with his other son at his house there, was, upon that son's dissettlement, necessitated to betake himself to this his eldest son, with whom he lived for some years, even to his dying day. In the next place he had an addition of some scholars; to which may be added, his entering into matrimony; but he had his wife's company so small a time, that he may well be said to have become a single man again soon after.

Of Milton's first marriage A.D. 1643.

About Whitsuntide it was, or a little after, that he took a journey into the country; nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was any more than a journey of recreation: after a month's stay, home he returns a married-man, that went-out a batchelor; his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a justice of peace, of Foresthill, near Shotover in Oxfordshire; some few of her nearest relations accompanying the bride to her new habitation; which by reason the father nor any body else were yet come, was able to receive them; where the feasting held for some days in celebration of the nuptials, and for entertainment of the bride's friends. At length they took their leave, and returning to Foresthill, left the sister behind; probably not much to her satisfaction, as appeared by the sequel. By that time she had, for a month or thereabout, led a philosophical life (after having been used to a great house, and much company and joviality), her friends; (possibly incited by her own desire,) made earnest suit by letter, to have her company during the remaining part of the summer; which was granted, on condition of her return at the time appointed, which was Michaelmas, or thereabout. In the mean time came his father, and some of the forementioned disciples.

And

And now the studies went-on with so much the more vigour, as there were more hands and heads employed; the old gentleman living wholly retired to his rest and devotion, without the least trouble imaginable. Our author, (now, as it were, a single man again,) made it his chief diversion, now and then in an evening, to visit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter to the — Lee, earl of Marlborough, who had been Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Privy Council to King James the first. This lady, being a woman of great wit and ingenuity, had a particular honour for him, and took much delight in his company, as did likewise her husband, captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman. And what esteem Milton at the same time had for her, appears by a sonnet he made in praise of her, which is to be seen among his other *Sonnets* in his extant *Poems*.

Michaelmas being come, and no news of his wife's return, he sent for her by letter; and receiving no answer, sent several other letters, which were also unanswered: so that, at last, he dispatched-down a foot-messenger with a letter, desiring her return. But the messenger came back not only without an answer, at least a satisfactory one, but, to the best of my remembrance, reported that he was dismissed with some sort of contempt. This proceeding, in all probability, was grounded upon no other cause but, this, namely, that (the family being generally addicted to the cavalier party, as they called it, and some of them possibly engaged in the king's service, who by this time had his head-quarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success) they began to repent them of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, whenever that court should come to flourish again.

His wife refus  
return to him  
cohabit with

However



He thereupon studies the Scripture doctrine on divorces, and publishes very excellent tracts on it.

However, it so incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again, after such a repulse; so that he forthwith prepared to fortify himself with arguments for such a resolution, and accordingly wrote two treatises, by which he undertook to maintain, that it was against reason, and the enjoyment of it not proveable by Scripture, for any married couple disagreeable in humour and temper, or having an aversion to each [other]; to be forced to live yoked-together all their days. The first tract was, his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*; of which there was printed a second edition, with some additions. The other, in prosecution of the first, was styled *Tetrachordon*. Then, the better to confirm his own opinion by the attestation of others, he set-out a piece called *The Judgement of Martin Bucer*, a protestant minister, being a translation, out of that Reverend divine, of some part of his works, exactly agreeing with him in sentiment. Lastly, he wrote in answer to a pragmatICAL clerk, who would needs give himself the honour of writing against so great a man, his *Colasterion*, or Rod of Correction for a saucy impertinent.

Not very long after the setting-forth of these treatises, having application made to him by several gentlemen of his acquaintance for the education of their sons, as understanding haply the progress he had infixed by his first undertakings of that nature, he laid-out for a larger house, and soon found it out.

But in the interim before he removed, there fell-out a passage, which, though it altered not the whole course he was going to steer, yet it put a stop, or rather an end, to a grand affair, which was more than probably thought to be then in agitation: it was indeed a design of marrying one of

Dr.

Dr. Davis's daughters, a very handsome and witty gentlewoman, but averse, as it is said, to this motion. However, the intelligence hereof, and the then declining state of the king's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work, to restore the late married woman to the station wherein they a little before had planted her; at last this device was pitch'd upon. There dwelt in the lane of St. Martins Le Grand, which was hard-by, a relation of our author's, one Blackborough, whom it was known he often visited, and upon this occasion the visits were the more narrowly observed, and possibly there might be a combination between both parties; the friends on both sides consenting in the same action, though on different behalfs. One time above the rest, he making his usual visit, the wife was ready in another room, and on a sudden he was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, making submission and begging pardon on her knees before him. He might, probably, at first, make some shew of aversion and rejection; but, partly, his own generous nature, (more inclinable to reconciliation, than to perseverance in anger and revenge,) and, partly, the strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an act of oblivion, and a firm league of peace for the future; and it was at length concluded, that she should remain at a friend's house, till such time as he was settled at his new house at Barbican, and all things for her reception in order: the place agreed-on for her present abode, was the widow Webber's house in St. Clement's Church-yard, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother \* many years before. The first

His wife returns to him, and begs pardon of him, and obtains it.

Milton removes from his house in Aldersgate-Street, to a larger house at Barbican.

\* Christopher Milton.



fruits of her return to her husband was a brave girl, born within a year after: though, whether by ill-constitution, or want of care, she grew more and more decrepit.

But it was not only by children that she increased the number of the family; for in no very long time after her coming, she had a great resort of her kindred with her in the house, *viz.* her father and mother, and several of her brothers and sisters, which were in all pretty numerous; who, upon his father's sickening and dying soon after, went away.

And now the house looked again like a house of the Muses only, though the accession of scholars was not great. Possibly his proceeding thus far in the education of youth may have been the occasion of some of his adversaries calling him *pædagog* and schoolmaster: whereas it is well known he never set-up for a public school to teach all the young fry of a parish, but only was willing to impart his learning and knowledge to relations, and the sons of some gentlemen that were his intimate friends\*; besides, that neither his converse, nor his writings, nor his manner of teaching ever savoured in the least any thing of pedantry; and probably he might have some prospect of putting in prac-

\* There is something beautiful in the generosity with which Edward Philips here sets himself to vindicate his uncle against the aspersions of "his adversaries;" as it is certain that the writer was "a schoolmaster," and, by the representation of, Antony Wood, probably "set-up for a publick school to teach all the young fry of a parish." The sentiment is, "My kinsman, the great man whose merits I am commemorating, was far from being the insignificant person that I, his historian, am: I am in my proper place when I make the education of youth my daily employment, and my profession; but he was a man of a different standard, and belonging to another class of intelligences; nor is it just, that terms and ideas, sufficiently descriptive of my destination, should be applied to one, who "is scarce to be paralleled by any the best of writers our nation hath in any age brought-forth."

tice his academical institution, according to the model laid-down in his sheet *Of Education*. The progress of which design was afterwards diverted by a series of alteration in the affairs of state ; for I am much mistaken, if there were not about this time a design in agitation of making him adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army soon following, proved an obstruction to that design ; and Sir William, his commission being laid-down, began, as the common saying is, to turn *cat in pan*.

It was not long after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell through the city of London with the whole army, to quell the insurrections which Brown and Massey, (now become malecontents also,) were endeavouring to raise in the city against the army's proceedings, ere he left his great house in Barbican, and betook himself to a smaller in High Holbourn, among those that open backward in Lincoln's-Inn Fields. Here he lived a private and quiet life, still prosecuting his studies and curious search into knowledge, the grand affair perpetually of his life ; till such time as, the war being now at an end, with complete victory to the Parliament's side, as the Parliament then stood purged of all its dissenting members, and the king (after some treaties with the army *re infectâ*,) brought to his trial ; the form of government being now changed into a free state, he was hereupon obliged to write a treatise called *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

Milton quits his great house at Barbican, and takes a smaller house in High Holbourn.

In March, A. D. 1648-9.

After which his thoughts were bent upon retiring again to his own private studies, and falling upon such subjects as his proper genius prompted him to write of, among which was the history of our own nation from the beginning till

Milton begins to write his History of England, A. D. 1649.

the

the Norman Conquest, wherein he had made some progress. When (for this his last treatise, reviving the fame of other things he had formerly published) being more and more taken notice of for his excellency of stile, and depth of judgement, he was courted into the service of this new Commonwealth, and at last prevailed-with (for he never hunted after preferment, nor affected the tintamar and hurry of publick business) to take upon him the office of Latin secretary to the Council of State, for all their letters to Foreign Princes and States: for they stuck to this noble and generous resolution, not to write to any, or receive answers from them, but in a language most proper to maintain a correspondence among the learned of all nations in this part of the world; scorning to carry-on their affairs in the wheedling, lispings, jargon of the cringing French; especially as they had a minister of state able to cope with the ablest any Prince or State could employ, for the Latin tongue. And so well he acquitted himself in this station, that he gained from abroad both reputation to himself, and credit to the State that employed him.

And it was well the business of his office came not very fast upon him; for he was scarce well warm in his secretaryship, before other work flowed in upon him, which took him up for some considerable time. In the first place there came out a book said to have been written by the king, and finished a little before his death, entitled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, that is, *The Royal Image*; a book highly cryed-up for its smooth style, and patheticall composure; wherefore to obviate the impression it was like to make among the many, he was obliged to write an answer, which he entitled *Εἰκονοκλάστης*, or *Image-Breaker*.

And

And is soon after appointed Latin Secretary to the Council of State of the new Commonwealth Government.

He soon after writes an answer to a book said to have been written by the late King Charles the First.

And upon the heels of that, out comes in publick the great kill-cow of Christendom, with his *Defensio Regis contrà Populum Anglicanum* \* : a man so famous and cryed-up for his *Plinian Exercitations*, and other pieces of reputed learning, that there could no where have been found a champion that durst lift-up the pen against so formidable an adversary, had not our little English David had the courage to undertake this great French Goliah ; To whom he gave such a hit in the forehead, that he presently staggered, and soon after fell. For, immediately upon the coming out of the answer, entitled, *Defensio Populi Anglicani contrà Claudium Anonymum*, &c. he (who till then had A. D. 1651. been chief minister and superintendent in the court of the learned *Christina*, queen of Sweden,) dwindled in esteem to that degree, that he, at last, vouchsafed to speak to the meanest servant. In short, he was dismissed with so cold and slighting an adieu, that, after a faint, dying, reply, he was glad to have recourse to death, the remedy of all evils, and A. D. 1652. ender of all controversies.

And now, I presume, our author had some breathing-space ; but it was not long. For, though Salmasius was departed, he left some stings behind ; new enemies started up, barkers, though no great biters. Who the first assessor of Salmasius his cause was, is not certainly known, but variously conjectured-at, some supposing it to be one Janus, a lawyer of Gray's-Inn, some to be Dr. Bramhal, who was made by King Charles the Second, after his Restauration, archbishop of Armagh in Ireland : but, whoever the author was, the book was

• This title every one will see to be a mis-statement : no man ever professed to write against a people for their governors. The proper title is *Defensio Regia pro Carolo Primo, ad Carolum Secundum*.

thought fit to be taken into correction; and our author (not thinking it worth his own undertaking, to the disturbing the progress of whatever more chosen work he had then in hand) committed this task to the younger of his two nephews; but with such exact emendations before it went to the press, that it might have very well passed for his, but that he was willing the person that took the pains to prepare it for his examination and polishment, should have the name and credit of being the author; so that it came forth under this title, *Johannis Philippi, Angli, Defensio pro Populo Anglicano contrà, &c.* \*

A. D. 1652.

During the writing and publishing of this book, he lodged at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into the Spring-Garden; which seems to have been only a lodging taken, till his designed apartment in Scotland-Yard was prepared for him. For hither he soon removed from the foresaid place; and here his third child, a son, was born, which (through the ill usage, or bad constitution, of an ill-chosen nurse,) died an infant.

From this apartment, whether he thought it not healthy, or otherwise convenient for his use, or whatever else was the reason, he soon after took a pretty garden-house in Petty-France in Westminster, next door to the lord Scudamore's, and opening into St. James's Park. Here he remained no less than eight years, namely, from the year 1652, till within a few weeks of King Charles the 2d's Restoration.

In this house his first wife dying in childbed, he married a second, who, after a year's time, died in childbed also.

Milton removes to a house in Petty France, Westminster. A. D. 1652.

\* This title is given from memory and inaccurately.



This, his second marriage, was about two or three years after his being wholly deprived of sight, which was just going, about the time of his answering Salmasius; whereupon his adversaries gladly take occasion of imputing his blindness as a judgement upon him for his answering the king's book, &c. \* whereas it is most certainly known, that his sight, (what with his continual study, his being subject to the head-ach, and his perpetual tampering with physic to preserve it,) had been decaying for above a dozen years before, and the sight of one for a long time clearly lost. Here he wrote, by his amanuensis, his two *Answers to Alexander More*; who, upon the last answer, quitted the field.

So that being now quiet from state adversaries and public contests, he had leisure again for his own studies and private designs; which were his foresaid *History of England*; and a new *Thesaurus Linguae Latinæ*, according to the manner of Stephanus; a work he had been long since collecting from his own reading, and still went on with it at times, even very near to his dying day; but the papers after his death were so discomposed and deficient, that it could not be made fit for the press; however, what there was of it, was made use of for another dictionary.

He now resumes the composition of his History of England. A. D. 1655.

But the height of his noble fancy and invention began now to be seriously and mainly employed in a subject worthy of such a Muse, viz. a heroick poem, entitled, *Paradise Lost*; the noblest in the general esteem of learned and judicious persons, of any yet written by any either ancient or modern. This subject was first designed to be produced to the world in the form of a tragedy, and in the fourth book of the poem there are six verses, which several

And soon after begins to compose his heroick Poem called *Paradise Lost*. A. D. 1656.

\* *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*; 1652.

years

years before the poem was begun, were shewn to me and some others, as designed for the very beginning of the said tragedy. The verses are these ;

“ O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd !  
 Look'st from thy sole dominion, like the god  
 Of this new world ; at whose sight all the stars  
 Hide their diminished heads ; to thee I call,  
 But with no friendly voice ; and add thy name,  
 O Sun ! to tell thee how I hate thy beams  
 That bring to my remembrance, from what state  
 I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere ;  
 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,  
 Warring in Heaven, against Heaven's glorious King.”

There is another very remarkable passage in the composition of this poem, which I have a particular occasion to remember ; for whereas I had the perusal of it from the very beginning, for some years, as I went from time to time, to visit him, in a parcel of ten, twenty, or thirty verses at a time ; which being written by whatever hand came next, might possibly want correction as to orthography and pointing ; having as the summer came on, not been shewed any for a considerable while, and desiring the reason thereof, was answered, That his vein never happily flowed, but from the autumnal equinoctial to the vernal, and that whatever he attempted [otherwise] was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much, so that in all the year, he was about this poem, he may be said to have spent but half his time therein.

It was but a little before the king's Restoration that he wrote and published his book *In Defence of a Commonwealth* ; so undaunted he was in declaring his true sentiments

His genius for writing verses was stronger and more productive in Winter than in Summer.



ments to the world; and not long before, his *Power of the Civil Magistrate in Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and his *Treatise against Hirelings*, just upon the king's coming over; having a little before been sequestered from his office of Latin secretary, and the salary thereunto belonging.

He was forced to leave his house also in Petty-France, where all the time of his abode there, which was eight years, as above-mentioned, he was frequently visited by persons of quality, particularly by my lady Ranelagh, whose son for some time he had instructed; and by all learned foreigners of note, who could not part out of this city, without giving a visit to a person so eminent; and lastly, by particular friends that had a high esteem for him, viz. Mr. Andrew Marvel, young Lawrence (the son of him that was President of Oliver's Council), to whom there is a sonnet among the rest, in his printed *Poems*; Mr. Marchamont Needham, the writer of *Politicus*; but above all, Mr. Cyriack Skinner, whom he honoured with two sonnets, one long since publick among his *Poems*; the other but newly printed.

His next removal was, by the advice of those that wished him well, and had a concern for his preservation, into a place of retirement and abscondence, till such time as the current of affairs for the future should instruct him what farther course to take. It was a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close, where he lived till the act of oblivion came forth; which it pleased God, proved as favourable to him as could be hoped or expected, through the intercession of some that stood his friends both in council and parliament; particularly in the House of Commons, Mr. Andrew Marvel, a member for Hull, acted vigorously in his behalf, and made a considerable party for him; so that, together with

John

John Goodwin of Coleman-Street, he was only so far excepted as not to bear any office in the commonwealth.

Soon after appearing again in publick, he took a house in Holborn near Red Lyon Fields; where he stayed not long, before his pardon having passed the seal, he removed to Jewin-Street. There he lived when he married his 3d wife, recommended to him by his old friend Doctor Paget in Coleman-Street.

Milton removes to a house in Jewin-Street, in 1662. He marries a third wife.

And soon after removes to a house in the Artillery walk; where he continued till his death.

But he stayed not long after his new marriage, ere he removed to a house in the Artillery-walk leading to Bunhill Fields. And this was his last stage in this world, but it was of many years continuance, more perhaps than he had had in any other place besides.

He published his Poem called *Paradise Lost*, in the year 1666.

Here he finished his noble poem and published it in the year 1666. The first edition was printed in quarto by one Simons, a printer in Aldersgate-Street; and a second in a large octavo, by Starky near Temple-Bar, amended, enlarged, and differently disposed as to the number of books, by his own hand, that is, by his own appointment; and a third has been set-forth, many years since his death, in a large folio, with cuts added, by Jacob Tonson.

He published his History of England in the year 1670.

Here it was also that he finished and published his History of our Nation till the Conquest, all complete so far as he went; some passages only excepted: which being thought too sharp against the clergy, could not pass the hand of the licenser, were in the hands of the late Earl of Anglesey while he lived; where at present is uncertain.

It cannot certainly be concluded when he wrote his excellent tragedy entitled *Samson Agonistes*, but sure enough it is that it came forth after his publication of *Paradise Lost*, together with his other poem called *Paradise Regained*,

gained, which doubtless was begun and finished and printed after the other was published, and that in a wonderful short space of time considering the sublimeness of it; however it is generally censured to be much inferior to the other, though he could not hear with patience any such thing when related to him. Possibly the subject may not afford such variety of invention; but it is thought by the most judicious to be little or nothing inferior to the other, for style and decorum.

The said Earl of Anglesey, whom he presented with a copy of the unlicensed papers of his History, came often here to visit him, as very much coveting his society and converse; as likewise others of the nobility, and many persons of eminent quality; nor were the visits of foreigners ever more frequent than in this place, almost to his dying day.

His treatise *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration, &c.* was doubtless the last thing of his writing that was published before his death. He had, as I remember, prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether by the dissuasion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause I know not, this answer was never published.

He died in the year 1673, towards the latter end of the summer, \* and had a very decent interment according to his quality, in the church of St. Giles Cripplegate, being attended from his house to the church by several gentlemen then in town, his principal well-wishers and admirers.

\* November 8, 1674.

He

Of Milton's children. He had three daughters who survived him many years (and a son) all by his first wife (of whom sufficient mention hath been made): Anne, his eldest, as abovesaid; and Mary, his second, who were both born at his house in Barbican; and Debora, the youngest, who is yet living, born at his house in Petty-France, between whom and his second daughter, the son, named John, was born as above-mentioned, at his apartment in Scotland Yard. By his second wife, Catharine, the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney, he had only one daughter, of which the mother, the first year after her marriage, died in child-bed, and the child also within a month after. By his third wife Elizabeth, the daughter of one Mr. Minshal of Cheshire (and kinswoman to Dr. Paget), who survived him, and is said to be yet living, he never had any child.

And those he had by the first he made serviceable to him in that very particular in which he most wanted their service, and supplied his want of eye sight by their eyes and tongue: For, though he had daily about him one or other to read to him; some persons of man's estate, who of their own accord greedily caught at the opportunity of being his readers, that they might as well reap the benefit of what they read to him, as oblige him by the benefit of their reading; others of younger years sent by their parents to the same end; yet, excusing only the eldest daughter by reason of her bodily infirmity, and difficult utterance of speech (which, to say truth, I doubt was the principal cause of excusing her), the other two were condemned to the performance of reading, and exactly pronouncing, of all the languages of whatever book he should, at one time or other, think fit to peruse; viz. The Hebrew (and I think the Syriac), the  
Greek,

Greek, the Latin, Italian, Spanish and French. All which sorts of books to be confined to read, without understanding one word, must needs be a trial of patience almost beyond endurance : yet it was endured by both for a long time. Yet the irksomeness of this employment could not be always concealed, but broke out more and more into expressions of uneasiness ; so that at length they were all (even the eldest also) sent-out to learn some curious and ingenious sorts of manufacture, that are proper for women to learn, particularly embroideries in gold or silver. It had been happy indeed, if the daughters of such a person had been made in some measure inheritrixes of their father's learning : but since fate otherwise decreed, the greatest honour that can be ascribed to this now living (and so would have been to the others, had they lived) is to be daughter to a man of his extraordinary character.

He is said to have dyed worth 1500*l.* in money (a considerable estate, all things considered) besides household goods ; for he sustained such losses as might well have broke any person less frugal and temperate than himself ; no less than 2000*l.* which he had put for security and improvement into the excise-office, but, neglecting to recal it in time, could never after get it out, with all the power and interest he had in the great ones of those times ; besides another great sum, by mismanagement and for want of good advice.

His pecuniary circumstances.

Thus I have reduced into form and order what ever I have been able to rally-up, either from the recollection of



my own memory of things transacted while I was with him, or the information of others equally conversant afterwards, or from his own mouth by frequent visits to the last.

Two examples of the activity and industry of the English Government in procuring intelligence concerning State-affairs before the Restoration of King Charles the Second.

I shall conclude this history with two material passages, which (though they relate not immediately to our author, or his own particular concerns;) yet, in regard that they happened during his publick employment of Latin Secretary to the Council of State of the Commonwealth of England, and consequently fell most especially under his cognizance; it will not be amiss here to subjoin them. The first was this:

Before the war broke-forth between the States of England and the Dutch, the Hollanders sent-over three ambassadors in order to an accommodation; but, they returning *re infectâ*, the Dutch sent-away a plenipotentiary, to offer peace upon much milder terms, or at least to gain more time. But this plenipotentiary could not make such haste, but that the parliament had procured a copy of their instructions in Holland, which were delivered by our author to his kinsman, that was then with him, to translate for the Council to view, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; [and] an answer to all he had in charge lay ready for him, before he made his publick entry into London.

In the next place there came a person with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the prince of Condé, who was then in arms against cardinal Mazarine: the parliament mistrusting him, set their instrument so busily at work, that in four or five days they had procured intelligence

ligence from Paris, that he was a spy from king Charles. whereupon the very next morning our author's kinsman was sent to him, with an order of Council commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days, or expect the punishment of a spy.

By these two remarkable passages, we may clearly discover the industry and good intelligence of those times.

END OF THE LIFE OF MILTON, WRITTEN BY HENRY FULW

MILTON, 1674.







Richard 3d,      Robert 2d,  
h Duke of Normandy, 6th Duke of Normandy,  
Ob... 1027.      Ob... 1034

WILLIAM 1st,  
Ob... 1066.

THE  
HISTORY OF BRITAIN,  
THAT PART, ESPECIALLY, NOW CALLED ENGLAND;  
From the First Traditional Beginning, continued to the  
NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the antientest and best AUTHORS thereof.

Published from a COPY corrected by the AUTHOR  
himself. First published in the year 1670.

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THE FIRST BOOK.

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THE beginning of nations, (those excepted of whom the sacred books have spoken,) is to this day unknown. Introductory O  
vations. Nor only the beginning, but the deeds also of many succeeding ages, yea, periods of ages, are either wholly unknown or obscured and blemished with fables. Whether it were that the use of letters came in long after, or were it the violence of barbarous inundations, or they themselves, at certain revolutions of time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into sloth and ignorance; whereby the monuments of more ancient civility have been, some destroyed, some lost. Perhaps Disesteem and Contempt of the public affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise men, and of best ability, have forbore to write the acts of their own days, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain; not, only how unworthy, how perverse, how corrupt, but often how ignoble, how petty, how below all history, the persons and their actions were; who, either by fortune or some rude election, had attained, as a sore judgement and ignominy upon the land, to have the chief sway in managing the Commonwealth. But that any Law, or Superstition of our philosophers, the Druids, forbad the Britains to write accounts of their own

B memorabile

memorable deeds," I know not why any person should, out of Cæsar's Commentaries, \* alledge: He indeed saith, that their *doctrine* they thought it not lawful to commit to writing; but that in most matters else, both private and publick, (among which well may History be reckoned,) they used the Greek tongue; and that the British Druids, (who taught those in Gaul,) should have been ignorant of any language that was known and used by their disciples, or, that, when they were so frequently employed in writing other things, and were so inquisitive into the highest subjects, they would, for want of recording events, continue to be ever children in the knowledge of times and ages, is not likely. But, whatever might be the reason of it, this we find, "that, of British affairs, from the first peopling of the island to the coming of Julius Cæsar, nothing certain, either by tradition, history, or ancient fame, hath hitherto been left us." That which we have of oldest seeming hath, by the greater part of judicious antiquaries, been long rejected as being only a modern fable.

Nothing is known with certainty concerning the History of Britain before the invasion of it by Julius Cæsar.

Nevertheless, there being others, besides the first supposed author, (and these too men not unread, nor unlearned in antiquity,) who admit that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction; and, seeing, that oft-times relations, heretofore accounted fabulous, have been afterwards found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true,—as what we read, in poets, of the flood, and giants, was little believed, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all of it was not feigned; I have therefore determined to bestow the telling-over even of these reputed tales; be it for nothing else but in favour of our English poets and rhetoricians, who, by their art, will know how to use them judiciously.

I might also produce examples, as Diodorus among the Greeks, Livy and others among the Latins, and Polydore and Virunnius who are accounted among our own writers. But I intend not, with controversies and quotations, to delay, or interrupt, the smooth course of the his-

\* Cæsar. l. 6.

tory; much less, to argue and debate long, who were the first inhabitants of this island, and with what probabilities, and what authorities each opinion hath been upheld; but shall endeavour to do that which hitherto hath been needed most, that is, with plain and lightsome brevity, to relate, well and in good order, things worth the noting, so as they may best instruct and benefit those who read them. Which, (imploring Divine assistance, that it may redound to his glory, and the good of the British nation,) I now begin.

“THAT the whole earth was inhabited before the flood, and to the utmost point of habitable ground,” from those effectual words of God in the creation, may be more than conjectured. Hence that this island also had her dwellers, her affairs, and perhaps her written histories, even in that old world those many hundred years before the flood, with much reason we may infer. After the flood, and the dispersing of nations, as they journeyed leisurely from the east, Gomer (the eldest son of Japhet,) and his offspring, (as, by authorities, arguments, and affinity of divers names, is generally believed,) were the first that peopled all these western and northern climes. But those of our own writers, who thought they had done nothing, unless, with all circumstances, they tell us when, and who they were who first set foot upon this island, presume to name, out of fabulous and counterfeit authors, a certain Samoths or Dis, a fourth or sixth son of Japhet, (whom they make, about 200 years after the flood, to have planted with colonies, first, the continent of Celtica or Gaul, and next, this island; thence to have named it *Samoths*;) to have reigned here, and after him lineally four kings, Magus, Saron, Drui, and Bardus. But the forged Berosus, (whom only they have to cite,) no where mentions that either he, or any of those whom they bring, did ever pass into Britain, or send their people hither. So that this outlandish figment may easily excuse our not allowing it the room here so much as of a British fable.

A short summary of the uncertain, or-fabulous, history of Britain before that time.

Samoths,

That which follows, (perhaps as wide from truth, though

*The History of England.*

Albion.

though seeming less impertinent,) is, that these Samotheans under the reign of Bardus were subdued by Albion a giant, son of Neptune; who called the island after his own name, and ruled it 44 years. Till at length, passing-over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygón, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight, and Bergion also his brother.

Sure enough we are, that Britain hath been, anciently termed Albion, both by the Greeks and Romans. And Mela, the geographer, makes mention of a stony shore in Languedoc, where, by report, such a battle was fought. The rest, as his giving name to the Isle, or even landing here, depends altogether upon late surprizes. But too absurd, and too unconscionably gross, is that fond invention that waisted hither the fifty daughters of a strange Dioclesian, king of Syria; brought-in, doubtless, by some illiterate pretender to something mistaken in the common poetical story of Danaus, king of Argos; while his vanity, not pleased with the obscure beginning, which truest antiquity affords the nation, laboured to contrive us a pedigree, as he thought, more noble. These daughters, after having, by the appointment of their father Danaus, murdered, on the night of their marriage, all their husbands, except Linceus, whom his wife's loyalty saved, were by Linceus, at the suit of his wife, their sister, not put to death, but turned-out to sea in a ship unmanned; of which whole sex they had incurred the hate: and, as the tale goes, they were driven on this island. Where the inhabitants, (who were none but devils, as some write, or, as others, a lawless crew left here by Albion, without Head or Governour,) both entertained them and had issue by them a second breed of giants, who tyrannized the isle, till Brutus came.

The eldest of these dames in their legend they call Albina; and from thence, (for which cause the whole scene was framed,) will have the name Albion derived. Incredible it may seem that so sluggish a conceit should prove so ancient, as to be authorised by the elder Ninnius, who is reputed to have lived above a thousand years ago. This, however, I find not in him; but he relates that Histion, sprung of Japhet, had four sons; Francus, Romanus, Alemannus,



*The History of England.*

mannus, and Britto, of which last the Britains were the descendants\*; which is as true, I believe, as that those other nations whose names are resembled, came of the other three; if these dreams give not just occasion to call in doubt the book itself, which bears that title.

Hitherto the things themselves have given us a warrantable dispatch to run them soon over. But now of Brutus and his line, with the whole progeny of kings, to the entrance of Julius Cæsar, we cannot so easily be discharged; descents of ancestry, long-continued; laws and exploits not plainly seeming to be borrowed, or devised; which on the common belief have wrought no small impression; being defended by many, and denied utterly by few. For, what though Brutus, and the whole Trojan pretence were yielded-up, (seeing they who first devised to bring us from some noble ancestor, were content at first with Brutus the first consul of Rome; after the expulsion of Tarquinius superbus; till better invention, although not willing to forego the name of Brutus, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous age, and, by the same remove, lighting on the Trojan tales, in affectation to make the Britain of one original with the Roman, pitched there;) yet "that of those old and in-born names of successive kings of this island; never any should have been real persons, or have done in their lives at least some part of what so long hath been related of them," cannot be absolutely concluded without too great a degree of incredulity.

For these, and those causes above-mentioned, that which hath received approbation from so many, I have chosen not to omit. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as it keeps aloof from impossible and absurd, and is attested by ancient writers from books more ancient, I refuse not to relate it, as being the due and proper subject of story. The principal author of these disputed facts is well known to be Geoffrey of Monmouth; what he was, and whence his authority; who in his age, or before him, have delivered the same matter; and such like general discourses, will better stand in a treatise by themselves.

\* Holinshed.



His descent from  
Æneas.

All \* of them agree in this, that Brutus was the son of Silvius ; he of Ascanius ; whose father was Æneas a Trojan prince, who, at the burning of that city, (with his son Ascanius, and a collected number of his countrymen that escaped from that destruction,) took refuge on board a small fleet of ships, and abandoned their native country in search of another settlement ; and, after long wandering on the sea, arrived in Italy. Where at length by the assistance of Latinus king of Latium, who had given him his daughter Lavinia in marriage) he prevailed against his enemies, and at length succeeded Latinus in that kingdom, and left it to his son Ascanius, whose son Silvius (though Roman historians deny that Silvius was the son of Ascanius,) had secretly married a niece of Lavinia without the consent, or knowledge, of Ascanius. But some time after this marriage, the wife of Silvius becoming pregnant, the matter became known to Ascanius. And he then commanded his magicians to inquire by their art, “ of what sex the offspring now conceived by the “ maid would prove at its birth to be,” to which inquiry the magicians made answer, “ that it was such a child “ as should be the cause of the death of both it’s parents ; “ and, further, that, after he should, for so doing, have “ been banished from his country, he should, in a far “ country, obtain the highest honour.” And this prediction failed not to be accomplished. For it’s mother died in child-bed, and the child, (who was a boy and named *Brutus*,) when he was fifteen years of age, attending his father to the chase, with an arrow unfortunately killed him.

His banishment  
from Italy, and re-  
treat into Greece

In consequence of this unhappy event, this young man was banished by his kindred from his native country, and retired into Greece ; in that part of it which had formerly been subject to Peleus, the father of the celebrated warrior Achilles, but was then governed by a king named Pandrasus, and there took up his abode ; where he met with a great number of persons who, like himself, were descended from Trojan ancestors. For, after the taking of Troy by the Grecian army, Pyrrhus, (the son

Pandrasus, King of  
Epirus.

\* Henry of Huntingdon, Matthew of Westminster.

of

of Achilles,) who was present at that great event, in revenge for his father's death, (who had been slain there a little before) took prisoner Helenus, one of king Priam's sons, together with other Trojans of distinction, and carried them and their families away with him to Greece in a state of servitude; from whom there was descended a numerous posterity, when young Brutus took refuge amongst them. And amongst these descendants from the same common ancestors with himself, the young man soon distinguished himself so much by his valour and activity and capacity for military undertakings, that he became an object of the respect and admiration of the kings and great captains of the age, above all the youth of that country. Whereby the Trojans not only began to hope, but secretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They alledge their numbers, and the promised help of Assaracus a noble Greekish youth, who was, by the mother's side, a Trojan; and whom, for that cause, his brother went about to dispossess of certain castles bequeathed to him by his father. Brutus, considering both the forces offered him, and the strength of those holds, or castles, not unwillingly consents.

First, therefore, having fortified those castles, he, with Assaracus and the whole multitude, betake them to the woods and hills, as the safest place from whence to expositulate; and, in the name of all, he sends to Pandrasus this message, "That the Trojans, holding it to be acting in  
" a manner unworthy of their ancestors, for them to continue in a state of servitude, in a foreign kingdom, had  
" retreated to the woods; chusing rather a savage life  
" than a slavish: if that displeased him, they desire that  
" then, with his leave, they might depart to some other  
" soil."

As this may pass with good allowance, that the Trojans might be many in these parts, (for Helenus was by Pyrrhus made king of the Chaonians, and the sons of Pyrrhus by Andromache, Hector's wife, could not but be powerful through all Epirus,) so much the more it may be doubted, how these Trojans could be thus in bondage, where they had friends and countrymen so potent. But to examine these things with diligence, were but to confute

fute the fables of Britain, with the fables of Greece or Italy: for of this age, what we have to say, as well concerning most other countries, as this island, is equally liable to doubt. Be it how it will, Pandrasus, not expecting so bold a message from the sons of captives, gathers an army; and marching towards the woods, Brutus, who had notice of his approach nigh to the town called Sparatinum, (I know not what town, but certainly of no Greek name) over-night planting himself there with good part of his men, suddenly sets upon him; and, with slaughter of the Greeks, pursues him to the passage of a river, which mine author names Akalon, (meaning perhaps Achelous or Acheron;) where, at the ford, he overlays them afresh. This victory obtained, and a sufficient strength left in Sparatinum, Brutus with Antigonus, the king's brother, and his friend Anacletus, whom he had taken in the fight, returns to the residue of his friends in the thick woods; while Pandrasus, with all speed recollecting his scattered troops, besieges the town. Brutus, to relieve his men besieged, who earnestly called him, distrusting the sufficiency of his force, bethinks himself of this policy. He calls to him Anacletus, and (threatning instant death else, both to him and his friend Antigonus,) enjoins him, that he should go, at the second hour of night, to the Greekish leagere, and tell the guards that he had brought Antigonus by stealth out of prison to a certain woody vale, unable through the weight of his fetters to move him further; entreating them to come speedily and fetch him in. Anacletus, to save both himself and his friend Antigonus, swears this, and at a fit hour sets on alone toward the camp; is met, examined, and at last unquestionably known. To whom, great profession of fidelity first made, he frames his tale, as had been taught him; and they now fully assured, with a credulous rashness leaving their stations, fared accordingly by the ambush that there awaited them. Forthwith Brutus dividing his men into three parts, leads on in silence to the camp; commanding first each part at a several place to enter, and forbear execution, till he with his squadron possessed of the king's tent, gave signal to them by trumpet. The sound whereof is no sooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the sleeping

sleeping and unguarded enemy; whom the besieged also now sallying-forth, on the other side assail. Brutus the while had special care to seize and secure the king's person; whose life (he being still within his custody,) he knew was the surest pledge to obtain what he should demand. Day appearing, he enters the town, there distributes the king's treasury, and leaving the place better fortified, returns, with the king his prisoner, to the woods. Strait the ancient and grave men he summons to counsel, to consider what they should now demand of the king.

After long debate, Mempricius, one, of the gravest, utterly dissuading them from thought of longer stay in Greece, unless they meant to be deluded with a subtle peace, and the awaited revenge of those whose friends they had slain, advises them to demand, first, the king's eldest daughter, Innogen, in marriage to their leader Brutus with a rich dowry; next, shipping, money, and fit provision for them all to depart the land.

Innogen, daughter of Pandrasus.

This resolution pleasing best, the king now brought-in and placed in a high seat, is briefly told, that, on these conditions granted, he might be free; not granted, he must prepare to die.

Pressed with the fear of death, the king readily yields; especially to bestow his daughter on whom he confessed so noble and so valiant: offers them also the third part of his kingdom, if they liked to stay; if not, to be their hostage himself, till he had made good his word.

The marriage therefore solemnized,\* and shipping from all parts got-together, the Trojans in a fleet, (no less written than three hundred, four and twenty, sail,) betake them to the wide sea: where, with a prosperous course, two days and a night bring them on a certain island long before dispeopled and left waste, by sea-rovers, the name whereof was then Leogecia, now unknown. They who were sent-out to discover, came at length to a ruined city, where was a temple and image of Diana that gave oracles: but not meeting, first or last, with any creatures save wild beasts, they return with this notice to their ships;

She marries Brutus, and with him, and a numerous body of friends descended from Trojan ancestors, sails from Greece in a large fleet.

\* Milton alludes to this piece of fabulous history in his beautiful Latin Poem, on the death of his young friend Charles Deodati, entitled *Epitaphium Damonis*, verses 162, 163, 164, 178.

wishing their General would enquire of that oracle what voyage to pursue.

Brutus consults an oracle in a temple dedicated to the Goddess Diana, to know what course to take.

Consultation had, Brutus taking with him Gerion his diviner, and twelve of the antientest, with wonted ceremonies before the inward shrine of the goddess, in verse (as it seems the manner was) utters his request, "*Divā potens nemorum,*" &c.

Goddess of shades, and huntress, who at will  
Walk'st on the rowling sphere, and through the deep,  
On thy third reign, the earth, look now, and tell  
What land, what seat of rest thou bid'st me seek,  
What certain seat, where I may worship thee  
For aye, with temples vow'd, and virgin choirs.

To whom sleeping before the altar, Diana, in a vision, that night thus answered, "*Brute, sub occasum, solis,*" &c.

The answer of the oracle.

Brutus, far to the west, in th' ocean wide,  
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,  
Sea girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old;  
Now void, it fits thy people; thither bend  
Thy course, there shalt thou find a lasting seat,  
There to thy sons another Troy shall rise;  
And kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might  
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.

These verses were originally Greek, and were put into Latin, saith Virunnius, by Gildas, a British poet, whom he supposes to have lived under the Roman Emperor Claudius. Which, if granted true, adds much to the antiquity of this fable; and, indeed, the Latin verses are much better than for the age of Geoffrey ap Arthur, unless perhaps Joseph of Exeter, (who was the only smooth poet of those times,) befriended him. In this answer, Diana overshot her oracle thus ending, "*Ipsis totius terræ subditus orbis erit;*" "*That to the race of Brute, kings of this island, the whole earth shall be subject.*"

But Brutus, guided now, as he thought, by divine conduct, speeds him towards the west; and after some encounters on the Afric side, arrives at a place on the Tyrrhene sea; where he happens to find the race of  
those



those Trojans, who with Antenor came into Italy; and Corineus, a man much famed, was their chief; though by surer authors it be reported, that those Trojans with Antenor, were seated on the other side of Italy, on the Adriatic, not the Tyrrhene, shore. But these joining company, and past the Herculean Pillars, at the mouth of Ligeris in Aquitania cast anchor: where, after some discovery made of the place, Corineus, hunting nigh the shore with his men, is by messengers of the king, Goffarius Pictus, met, and questioned about his errand there. Who not answering to their mind, Imbertus one of them, lets fly an arrow at Corineus, which he avoiding, slays him: and the Pictavian himself hereupon levying his whole force, is overthrown by Brutus and Corineus; the latter of whom, with the battle-ax which he was wont to manage against the Tyrrhene giants, is said to have done marvels. But Goffarius having drawn to his aid the whole country of Gaul, at that time governed by twelve kings, puts his fortune to a second trial: wherein the Trojans over-borne by multitude, are driven-back, and besieged in their own camp, which by good foresight was strongly situate. Whence Brutus unexpectedly issuing-out, and Corineus in the mean while, whose device it was, assaulting them behind from a wood, where he had conveyed his men the night before: the Trojans are again victors, but with the loss of Turon, a valiant nephew of Brutus; whose ashes left in that place, gave name to the city of Tours, built there by the Trojans. Brutus, finding now his powers much lessened, and thinking this not to be the place foretold him, leaves Aquitain, and with an easy course, arriving at Totness in Devonshire, quickly perceives here to be the promised end of his labours.

Brutus and his followers meet another body of men, descended also from Trojan ancestors, commanded by an eminent warrior named Corineus.

Brutus lands at Totness in Devonshire.

The island, not yet called Britain, but Albion, was, in a manner, desert and inhospitable; kept only by a remnant of giants, whose excessive force and tyranny had consumed the rest of the people. These giants Brutus destroys, and to his people divides the land, which, with some reference to his own name, he thenceforth calls Britain. To Corineus, Cornwall, as now we call it, fell by lot; the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk still there, which kind of monsters to deal-with was his old exercise.

And



The giant Goemagog is killed by Corineus, the companion of Brutus.

Brutus builds Trojana, or London.

Humber.

Estrildis, a beautiful captive.

Locrine.

His love of Estrildis.

And here with leave bespoken to recite a grand fable, though dignified by our best poets: While Brutus on a certain festival day solemnly kept on that shore, where he first landed, was with the people in great jollity and mirth, a crew of these savages breaking in upon them, began on a sudden another sort of game, than at such a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, Goemagog the hugest, in height twelve cubits, is reserved alive, that with him Corineus, who desired nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a wrestle the giant catching aloft, with a terrible hug broke three of his ribs: nevertheless Corineus enraged, heaving him up by main force, and on his shoulders bearing him to the next high rock, threw him headlong, all shattered, into the sea; and left his name on the cliff, called ever since Langoemagog, which is to say, the giant's leap.

After this, Brutus in a chosen place builds Troja Nova, changed in time to Trinovantum, now London; and began to enact laws; Heli being then high priest in Judea; and having governed the whole isle 24 years, died, and was buried in his new Troy. His three sons, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber divide the land by consent. Locrine has the middle part Loegria; Camber possessed Cambria, or Wales; Albanact Albania, now Scotland. — But he, in the end, by Humber, king of the Huns, (who with a fleet invaded that land,) was slain in fight, and his people drove back into Loegria. Locrine and his brother go out against Humber; who now marching onward, was by them defeated, and in a river drowned; which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his camp and navy, were found certain young maids, and Estrildis above the rest, passing fair, the daughter of a king in Germany; from whence Humber, as he went wasting the sea-coast, had led her captive: whom Locrine, though before contracted to the daughter of Corineus, resolves to marry. But being forced and threatened by Corineus, whose authority and power he feared, he yields to marry Guendolen his daughter, but in secret loves the other: and oft-times retiring, as to some private sacrifice, through vaults and passages made under-ground, and seven years thus enjoying her, had by her a daughter equally

equally fair, whose name was Sabra. But, when once his fear was off by the death of Corineus, not content with secret enjoyment, divorcing Guendolen, he makes Estrildis now his queen. Guendolen, all in a rage, departs into Cornwall, &c. Madan, the son she had by Locrine, was hitherto brought up by Corineus his grandfather. And gathering an army of her father's friends and subjects, gives battle to her husband by the river Sture; wherein Locrine, shot with an arrow, ends his life. But not so ends the fury of Guendolen; for Estrildis, and her daughter Sabra, she throws into a river: and, to leave a monument of revenge, proclaims that the stream be thenceforth called after the damsel's name; which, by length of time, is changed now to Sabrina, or Severn.

Their daughter Sabra.

Guendolen.

Death of Locrine.

Fifteen years she governs in behalf of her son; then resigning to him at age, retires to her father's dominion. This, saith my author, was in the days of Samuel. Madan hath the praise to have well and peacefully ruled the space of forty years, leaving behind him two sons, Mempricius, and Malim. Mempricius had, first, to do with the ambition of his brother, aspiring to share with him in the kingdom; whom therefore, at a meeting to compose matters, with a treachery, which his cause needed not, he slew.

Madan.

Mempricius.

Nor was he better in the sole possession thereof; so ill he could endure a partner. For he afterwards killed his nobles, and those especially who were next to succeed him; 'till, at last, being given over to unnatural lust, in the twentieth of his reign, hunting in a forest, he was devoured by wolves.

His son Ebranc, a man of mighty strength and stature, reigned forty years. He first, after Brutus, invaded Gaul and laid it waste; and, returning rich and prosperous, built Caer-Ebranc, now York, in Albania; and Alclüd, Mount Agned, or the Castle of Maydens, now Edinburg. He had twenty sons and thirty daughters by twenty wives. His daughters he sent to Silvius Albā into Italy, who bestowed them on his peers of the Trojan line. His sons, under the leading of Assaracus their brother, won them lands and signories in Germany; which country has been thought by some persons to have been thence called *Germania*, or the *Land of Brothers*; the word *Germanus* in

Ebranc.

in the Latin language being often used for a *brother*. But this derivation of the word *Germany* as the name of the country, now so called, seems to have been too hastily adopted, as the time of these conquests of Ebranc and his sons in Germany, seems to have been prior to the use of the word *Germanus* in the Latin tongue, in the sense of the word *brother*, or even to the existence of the Latin language itself, such as we now have it in Plautus and Terence, and all posterior authors in it. Some writers, who have described the country of Henault, (as Jacobus Bergomas, and Lessabeus,) are cited to affirm that Ebranc, in his war there, was, by Brunchildis, lord of Henault, put to the worse.

Brutus Green-shield.

Brutus, therefore, surnamed Greenshield, succeeding to repair his father's losses, as the same Lessabeus reports, fought a second battle in Henault, with Brunchildis, at the mouth of Scaldis, and encamped on the river Hania. Of which our Spencer also thus sings :

Let Schaldus tell, and let tell Hannia,  
And let the marsh of Esthambruges tell,  
What colour were their waters that same day,  
And all the moor 'twixt Elversham and Dell,  
With blood of Henalois, which therein fell,  
How oft that day did sad Brunchildis see  
The Greenshield dy'd in dolorous vermeil, &c.

But Henault, and Brunchild, and Greenshield; seem newer names than for a story pretended thus ancient.

Leil.

Him succeeded Leil, a maintainer of peace and equity; but slackened in his latter end, whence arose some civil discord. He built, in the North, Caerleil\*; and in the days of Solomon.

Hudibras.

Rudhuddibras, or Hudibras, appeasing the commotions which his father could not, founded Caerkeynt or Canterbury, Caerguent or Winchester, and Mount Paladur, now Septonia or Shaftesbury: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud.

Bladud, his son; built Caerbadus, or Bath, and those medicinal waters he dedicated to Minerva; in whose temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great invention, and taught necromancy; till having made him wings to fly, he fell down upon the

\* Called now Carlisle.

temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so died after twenty years reign.

Hitherto, from father to son, the direct line hath run on : but Leir, who next reigned, had only three daughters, and no male issue; governed laudably, and built Leir.

Caerlier, now Leicester, on the bank of Sora. But at last, failing through age, he determines to bestow his daughters, and so among them to divide his kingdom. Yet first, to try which of them loved him best, (a trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seemed to know how much the trying be-  
hooved him) he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemnly in order; and which of them should profess

largest, her to believe. Gonorill. Gonorill the eldest, apprehending too well her father's weakness, makes answer, invoking Heaven, "That she loved him above her soul."

"Therefore," quoth the old man, overjoyed, "since thou so honour'st my declining age, to thee and the husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my realm." So fair a speeding, for a few words soon uttered, was to Regan, the second, ample instruction

what to say. Regan. She, on the same demand, spares no protesting; and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to

express her thoughts she knew not, but that "She loved him above all creatures; and so receives an equal reward with her sister. But Cordeilla, the youngest, though hitherto she had been the best-beloved, and had now before

her eyes the rich and present hire of a little easy soothing, and the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain-dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and

virtuous answer. "Father," saith she, "my love towards you is as my duty bids: what should a father seek, what can a child promise more? They, who pretend beyond this, flatter." When the old man, sorry to hear

this, and wishing her to recall those words, persisted asking; with a loyal sadness at her father's infirmity; but something, on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her sisters than speaking her own mind, "Two ways only," saith she, "I have to answer what you require me: the former, your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left me; look how much

you.



you have, so much is your value; and so much, I love you." "Then hear thou," quoth Leir, now all in passion, "what thy ingratitude hath gained thee; because thou hast not revered thy aged father equal to thy sisters, part in my kingdom, or what else is mine, reckon to have none." And, without delay, gives in marriage his other daughters, Gonoril to Maglaunus duke of Albania, Regan to Henninus duke of Cornwall; with them in present half his kingdom; the rest to follow at his death. In the mean while, fame was not sparing to divulge the wisdom and other graces of Cordeilla, inso-much that Aganippus, a great king in Gaul (however he came by his Greek name, not found in any register of French kings) seeks her to wife; and, nothing altered at the loss of her dowry, receives her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this king Leir, more and more drooping with years, became an easy prey to his daughters, and their husbands; who now, by daily encroachment, had seized the whole kingdom into their hands; and the old king is put to sojourn with his eldest daughter attended only by threescore knights. But they in a short while grudget-at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual guests, are reduced to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old king betakes him to his second daughter: but there also, discord soon arising between the servants of different masters in one family, five only are suffered to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that she, his eldest, could not but have more pity on his grey hairs: but she now refuses to admit him, unless he be content with one only of his followers. At last the remembrance of his youngest, Cordeilla, comes to his thoughts; and now (acknowledging how true her words had been,) though, with little hope of a kind reception from one whom he had so much injured, and that he might be able to pay her the last recompense she can have from him, by making to her his confession of her wise forewarning, that so perhaps his misery, (the proof and experiment of her wisdom,) might something soften her, he takes his journey into France. Now might be seen a difference between the silent, or downright-spoken, affection of some children to their  
parents,

parents, and the talkative obsequiousness of others ; while the hope of inheritance overacts them, and on the tongue's end enlarges their duty. Cordeilla, out of mere love, without the suspicion of expected reward, at the message only of her father in distress, pours forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other eye should see him in such forlorn condition as his messenger declared, discreetly appoints one of her trusted servants, first, to convey him privately towards some good sea-town, there to array him, bathe him, cherish him, and furnish him with such attendance and state as beseemed his dignity ; that then, as from his first landing, he might send word of his arrival to her husband Aganippus. Which done, with all mature and requisite contrivance, Cordeilla, with the king her husband, and all the barony of his realm, who then first had news of his passing the sea, go out to meet him ; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, Aganippus, as to his wife's father, and his royal guest, surrenders to him, during his abode there, the power and disposal of his whole dominion : permitting his wife Cordeilla to go with an army, and set her father upon his throne. Wherein her piety so prospered, as that she vanquished her impious sister, with those dukes ; and Leir again, as saith the story, three years obtained the crown. To whom, dying, Cordeilla, with all legal solemnities, gave burial in the town of Leicester : and then, as right heir, succeeding him, and (her husband Aganippus being dead) ruled the land five years in peace. Until Morganus and Cunedagius, her two sisters sons, not bearing that a kingdom should be governed by a woman, (in the unseasonablest time to raise that quarrel against a woman so worthy,) make war against her, depose her, and imprison her ; of which being impatient, and now long unexercised to suffer, she there, as is related, killed herself. The victors between them part the land ; but Morganus, the eldest sister's son, who held, by agreement, from the north side of Humber to Cathness, incited by those about him, to invade all as his own right, wars on Cunedagius, who soon met him, overcame, and overtook him in a town of Wales, where he left his life, and ever since his name to the place.



Cunedagius. Cunedagius was now sole king, and governed with much praise many years, about the time when Rome was built.

Rivallo. Him succeeded Rivallo his son, wise also and fortunate; save what they tell us of three days raining blood, and swarms of stinging flies, whereof men died. In order then Gurgustius, Jago or Lago, his nephew; Sisi-  
lius, Kinmarcus. Then Gorbogudo, whom others name Gorbodego, and Gorbodion, who had two sons, Ferrex and Porrex. They, in the old age of their father, falling

Porrex, the last king  
of Britain descended  
from Brutus.

to contend who should succeed, Porrex, attempting by treachery his brother's life, drives him into France; and in his return, though aided with the force of that country, defeats and slays him. But by his mother Videna, who less loved him, is himself, with the assistance of her women, soon after slain in his bed: with whom ended, as is thought, the line of Brutus. Whereupon the whole land, with civil broils, was rent into five kingdoms, long time waging war each on other; and some say fifty years.

Dunwallo Molmu-  
tius.

At length Dunwallo Molmutius, the son of Cloten king of Cornwall, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour and goodliness of person, after his father's decease, found means to reduce again the whole island into a monarchy; subduing the rest at opportunities. First, Yinner-king of Loegria, whom he slew; then Rudaucus of Cambria, Staterius of Albania, confederate together. In which fight Dunwallo is reported, while the victory hung doubtful, to have used this art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the armour of their slain enemies; and so unexpectedly approaching the squadron, where those two kings had placed themselves in fight from that part which they thought securest, assaults and dispatches them. Then displaying his own ensigns which before he had concealed, and sending notice to the other part of his army what was done, adds to them new courage, and gains a final victory. This Dunwallo was the first in Britain that wore a crown of gold; and therefore by some reputed the first king. He established the Molmutine laws, famous among the English to this day; written long after in Latin by Gildas, and in Saxon by king Alfred: so saith Geoffrey; but Gildas denies to

The Molmutian  
Laws.

have

have known aught of the Britains before Cæsar; much less knew Alfred. These laws, whoever made them, bestowed on temples the privilege of sanctuary; to cities also, and the ways thither leading, yea, to plows, granted a kind of like refuge; and made such riddance of thieves and robbers, that all passages were safe. Forty years he governed alone, and was buried nigh to the Temple of Concord; which he, to the memory of peace restored, had built in Trinovant.

His two sons, Belinus and Brennus, contending about the crown, by decision of friends, came at length to an accord: Brennus to have the north of Humber, Belinus the sovereignty of all. But the younger, not long so contented, that he, (as they whispered to him,) whose valour had so oft repelled the invasion of Ceulphus the Morine duke, should now be subject to his brother, upon new design sails into Norway; enters into a league with Elsing the king of Norway, and proposes to marry his daughter: which Belinus perceiving, in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. Brennus, with a fleet of Norwegians, makes towards Britain; but (being encountered by Guithlac, the Danish king, who, laying claim to his bride, pursued him on the sea,) his haste was retarded, and he bereft of his spouse; who, from the fight, by a sudden tempest, was, with the Danish king, driven on the coast of Northumberland, and brought to Belinus. Brennus, nevertheless, finding means to recollect his navy, lands in Albania; and gives battle to his brother in the wood Calaterium; but, losing the day, escapes with one single ship into Gaul. Meanwhile (the Dane, upon his own offer to become tributary to Belinus, being sent home with his new prize, the daughter of the king of Norway,) Belinus again turns his thoughts to the administering of justice, and the perfecting of his father's law. And, to explain what highways might enjoy the foresaid privileges, he caused to be drawn-out and paved four main roads to the utmost length and breadth of the island; and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the Romans. Brennus, on the other side, soliciting to his aid the kings of Gaul, happens at last on Seginus, duke of the Allobroges; where his worth, and comeliness of person, won him the duke's daughter and heir. In whose right he shortly after, by the death of Seginus, succeeding

Belinus and Brennus.

succeeding to his Dukedom, and; by obtained leave, passing with a great host through the length of Gaul, gets footing once again in Britain. Now was Belinus unprepared: and now, the armies of the two brothers being ready to meet each other in battle, Conuvena, the mother of them both, all in a fright, throws herself between them; and calling earnestly to Brennusher son, whose absence had so long deprived her of his sight, after embracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against Belinus.

Then are hands joined, reconciliation made firm, and counsel held to turn their united preparations on foreign parts. Thence that by these two brothers all Gallia was over-run, the story tells; and what they did in Italy, and at Rome, (if these be they and not Gauls, who took that city) the Roman authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the Monmouth Chronicle; which here, against the stream of history, carries up and down these two brethren, now into Germany, then again to Rome, pursuing Gabius and Porsenna, two unheard-of consuls. Thus much is more generally believed, that both this Brennus, and another famous captain, Britomarus, whom the Epitoniist Florus and others mention, were not Gauls, but Britains; the name of the first in that tongue signifying *a king*, and of the other *a great Britain*. However, Belinus, after a while, returning home, the rest of his days ruled in peace, wealth, and honour, above all his predecessors; building some cities, of which one was Caerose upon Osca, since Cealegion; beautifying others, as Trinovant, with a gate, a haven, and a tower, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his ashes are said to have been laid-up in a golden urn.

After him Gurguntius Barbirus was king, mild and just; but yet, inheriting his father's courage, he subdued the Dacian, or Dane, who refused to pay the tribute covenanted to Belinus for his enlargement. In his return, finding about the Orkneys thirty ships of Spain, or Biscay, fraught with men and women for a plantation, whose captain also Bartholinus, wrongfully banished,

Gurguntius Barbirus.

as

as he pleaded, besought him that some part of his territory might be assigned them to dwell in; he sent with them certain of his own men to Ireland, which then lay unpeopled, and gave them that island, to hold of him as in homage. He was buried in Caerlegion, a city which he had walled-about.

He permits a colony of Spaniards to settle in Ireland.

Guitheline, his son, is also remembered as a just and good prince; and his wife Martia to have excelled so much in wisdom, as to venture upon a new institution of laws. Which, king Alfred translating, called *Marchen League*; but more truly thereby is meant the Mercian law, not translated by Alfred, but digested or incorporated with the West-Saxon. In the minority of her son she had the rule; and then, as may be supposed, brought forth these laws; not herself, (for laws are masculine births,) but by the advice of her sagest counsellors. And therein she might do virtuously, since it befell her to supply the nonage of her son; else nothing is more awry from the law of God and nature, than that a woman should give laws to men.

Guitheline.

Her son Sisilius coming to years, received the rule: then, in order, Kinnarus; then Danius, or Elanuis, his brother. Then Morindus, his son by Tanguetela, a concubine; who is recorded a man of excessive strength, valiant, liberal, and fair of aspect, but immanely cruel; not sparing, in his anger, enemy or friend, if any weapon were in his hand. A certain king of the Morines, or Picards, invaded Northumberland; whose army this king, though not wanting sufficient numbers, chiefly by his own prowess overcame; but dishonoured his victory by the cruel usage of his prisoners, whom his own hands, or others in his presence, put all to several deaths. Well fitted to such a bestial cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge monster, that from the Irish sea infested the coast, and, in the pride of his strength, foolishly attempting to set manly valour against a brute vastness, when his weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was caught-up and devoured.

Morindus.

Gorbonian, the eldest of his five sons, (than whom a juster man lived not in his age,) was a great builder of temples, and gave to all persons what was their due: to his Gods, devout worship; to men of desert, honour and prefer-

Gorbonian.

ment ; to the commons. encouragement in their labours and trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppressions ; so that the land flourished above her neighbours ; violence and wrong seldom was heard-of. His death was a general loss : he was buried in Trinovant.

Archigallo. Archigallo, the second brother, followed not his example ; but depressed the ancient nobility ; and, by peeling the wealthier sort, stuffed his treasury, and took the right way to be deposed ; which afterwards befell him.

Elidure. Elidure, the next brother, surnamed the Pious, was set up in his place ; a mind so noble, and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have been ever found. For having held the sceptre five years, hunting one day in the forest of Calater, he chanced to meet his deposed brother, wandering in a mean condition ; who had been long in vain beyond the seas, importuning foreign aids to his restorement ; and was now, in a poor habit, with only ten followers, privately returned to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, Elidure, himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open arms ; and, after many dear and sincere welcomings, conveys him to the city Alclud ; there hides him in his own bed-chamber. Afterwards, feigning himself sick, he summons all his peers, as about greatest affairs ; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endured not the disturbance of more at once, he causes them, willing or unwilling, once more to swear allegiance to Archigallo. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to York ; and, from his own head, places the crown on the head of his brother. Who thenceforth, (vice itself dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold, with the admiration of a deed so heroic,) became a true converted man ; ruled worthily ten years, died, and was buried in Caerleir. Thus was a brother saved by a brother, to whom the love of a Crown (the thing that so often dazzles and vitiates mortal men, and for which thousands of persons of nearest blood have destroyed each other, was, in respect of brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing. •

Elidure now in his own behalf re-assumes the government, and did as was worthy such a man to do. When  
*Providence,*



*The History of England.*

Providence, that so great a virtue might want no sort of trial to make it more illustrious, stirs-up Vigenius and Peredure, his youngest brethren, against him, who had deserved so nobly of that relation of brotherhood, as least of all men to have deserved to be injured by a brother. Yet him they defeat, him they imprison in the tower of Trinovant, and divide his kingdom; the North to Peredure, the South to Vigenius. After whose death Peredure obtaining all, so much the better used his power, by how much the worse he got it: so that Elidure now is hardly missed. But yet, in all right owing to his elder the due place whereof he had deprived him, fate would that he should die first: and Elidure, after many years imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the throne; which at last he enjoyed long in peace, finishing the interrupted course of his mild and just reign, as full of virtuous deeds as days to his end.

After these five sons of Morindus succeeded also their sons in order. \* Regin of Gorbionian, Morganus of Archigallo, both good kings. But Enniaunus, his brother, taking other courses, was, after six years, deposed. Then Idwallo, taught by a near example, governed soberly. Then Runno, then Geruntius, he of Peredure, this last the son of Elidure. From whose loins (for that likely is the durable and surviving race that springs of just progenitors) issued a long descent of kings, whose names only for many successions, without other memory, stand thus registered: Catellus, Coillus, Porrex, Chérin, and his three sons, Fulgenius, Eldadus, and Andragius, his son Urianus; Eliud, Eledaucus, Clotenus, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bleduno, Capis, Oenus, Sisillius; twenty kings in a continued row; that either did nothing, or lived in ages that wrote nothing; at least, a foul pretermission in the author of this, whether story or fable; himself weary, as seems, of his own tedious tale.

But to make amends for this silence, Blegabredus next succeeding, is recorded to have excelled all before him in the art of musick; opportunely, had he but left us one song of the actions of his twenty predecessors.

\* Matth. Westm.



Yet after him nine more succeeded in name ; his brother Archimailus, Eldol, Redion, Rederchius, Samulius, Penissel, Pir, Capoirus ; but Cliguellius, with the addition of modest, wise, and just.

Cliguellius.

Heli.

Lud and Cassibelan,

His son Heli reigned forty years, and had three sons, Lud, Cassibelan, and Ninnius. This Heli seems to be the same whom Ninnius, in his fragment, calls Minocan ; for him he writes to be the father of Cassibelan. Lud was he who enlarged and walled about Trinovant ; there kept his court, made it the prime city, and called it from his own name Caerlud, or Lud's town, now London. Which, as is alledged out of Gildas, became matter of great dissension betwixt him and his brother Ninnius ; who took it heinously that the name of Troy, their ancient country, should be abolished for any new one. Lud was hardy, and bold in war ; in peace, a jolly feaster. He conquered many islands of the sea, saith Huntingdon\*, and was buried by the gate, which from thence was call Ludgate†. His two sons, Androgeus and Tenuantius, were left to the tuition of Cassibelan ; whose bounty and high demeanour so wrought with the common people, as got him easily the kingdom transferred upon himself. He nevertheless, continuing to favour and support his nephews, confers freely upon Androgeus London with Kent ; upon Tenuantius, Cornwall ; reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other princes to himself, till the Romans for awhile circumscribed his power. Thus far, though leaning only on the credit of Geoffrey Monmouth, and his assertors, I yet, for the specified causes, have thought it not beneath my purpose to relate what I found. Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other persons, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing or collating years and chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the times and circumstances of things, whereof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one

\* Huntingd. l. i. † Verstegan denies this ; and says it was called so by the Saxons, from Lud, (in our ancient language, signifying *people*;) and gate, *quasi porta populi* ; of all the gates of the city, that having the greatest passage of people ; especially before Newgate was built, which was about the reign of Henry II.

who had set-out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of smooth or idle dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at a far distance, true colours and shapes. For, albeit Cæsar, (whose authority we are now first to follow,) wanted not some criticks who taxed him of mis-representing facts in his Commentaries, and even in his history of the civil war against Pompey; and therefore, much more may we suppose that he has taken the same liberties in treating of the British affairs, in which, from the little skill of the British in writing, he could not apprehend that he should be contradicted; yet now, in such a variety of good authors as have treated of the next following part of this history, we hardly can fail, from one hand or other, to be sufficiently informed of the events that happened in it, as far as can well be expected concerning things that passed so long ago. But this will better be referred to a second discourse.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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THE  
HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

## THE SECOND BOOK.

Before Christ 53  
years.

I AM now to write of what befell the Britains from fifty and three years before the birth of our Saviour; when first the Romans came-in, till the decay and ceasing of that empire; a story of much truth, and, for the first hundred years and somewhat more, collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the writers, which those two (the civilest and the wisest of European nations,) both Italy and Greece, afforded to the actions of that puissant city. For worthy deeds are not often destitute of worthy relaters: as, by a certain fate, great acts and great eloquence have most commonly gone hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same ages. It is true, that in obscurest times, by shallow and unskilful writers, the indistinct noise of many battles, and devastations of many kingdoms, over-run and lost, hath come to our ears. For what wonder, if in all ages ambition and the love of rapine hath stirred-up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in wasting and ruinous wars, which to posterity have left the work of wild beasts and destroyers, rather than the deeds and monuments of men and conquerors? But he whose just and true valour uses the necessity of war and dominion, not to destroy, but to prevent destruction, to bring-in liberty against tyrants, law and civility among barbarous nations, knowing that, when he conquers all things else, he cannot conquer Time or Detraction; wisely conscious of this, his want, as well as of his worth not to be forgotten, or concealed, honours and hath recourse to the aid of eloquence, his friendliest and best supply; by whose immortal record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, become fixed and durable against the force of years and

*The History of England.*

and generations; he fails not to continue\* through all posterity, over Envy, Death, and Time also victorious. Therefore, when the esteem of Science and liberal Study waxes low in the Commonwealth, we may presume that also there all civil virtue and worthy action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence (as it were, consorted in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of Virtue,) corrupts also and fades; at least resigns her office of relating publick actions to illiterate and frivolous historians, such as the persons themselves both deserve, and are best pleased-with; whilst they want either the understanding to choose better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining and searching style of an intelligent and faithful writer to the survey of their unsound exploits, which are better befriended by obscurity than by fame. As for these, the only authors we have of British matters, while the power of Rome reached hither, (for Gildas affirms that of the Roman times no British writer was in his days extant, or if any were, either burnt by enemies or transported with such as fled the Pictish and Saxon invasions) these therefore only Roman authors there be, who in the English tongue have laid-together as much, and perhaps more than was requisite to a history of Britain. So that, were it not for leaving an unsightly gap so near to the beginning, I should have judged this labour, wherein so little seems to be required above transcription, almost superfluous. Notwithstanding, since I must go through it, if aught by diligence may be added or omitted, or by other disposing may be more explained or more expressed, I shall essay.

Julius Cæsar (of whom, and of the Roman free state, more than what appertains to the history of Britain, is not here to be discoursed) having subdued most part of Gallia,

Julius Cæsar prepares to invade Britain.

\* In this description of the durability of a high reputation acquired by great and virtuous actions, in this and the following line (which is almost poetical) there is a considerable resemblance to the following passage of Virgil in the beginning of the third book of the Georgicks; to wit,

*—lentandaq; nix, est quæ me quoque possim  
Tollere humo, victorque, virum volitare per ora,*

I too must strive to raise my name  
Sublime upon the wings of Fame,  
And, victor over Time and Death,  
Live in my applauding Country's breath.

here

or Gaul, (which, by a potent faction at Rome, he had obtained of the Senate as his province for many years,) stirred-up with a desire of adding still more glory to his name, and the whole Roman empire to his ambition; (or, as some\* say, with a far meaner and ignobler motive, to wit, the desire of acquiring a quantity of British pearls, whose bigness he delighted to balance in his hand;) determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to try his force in the conquest also of Britain. For he understood that the Britains, in most of his Gallican wars, had sent supplies against him; had received fugitives of the Bellovaci, his enemies; and were called-over to aid the cities of Armorica, which had the year before conspired all in a new rebellion. Therefore Cæsar†, though the summer was well-nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a war, yet judged that it would be of great advantage, only to get an entrance into the isle, and a knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, and the access to it; which then, it seems, were even to the Gauls, our neighbours, almost unknown. For, except merchants and traders, it is not oft‡, saith he, that any persons used to travel thither; and to those that do, besides the sea-coast, and the ports next to Gallia, no thing else is known.

But here I must complain, as Pollio did, that I do not meet with the accuracy and fullness of description, or the fidelity of memory, that usually appears in Cæsar's writings. For, if it was true, (as the people of Rhemes told him,) that Divitiacus, (who had, not long before, been a powerful king of the people of Soissons in Gaul) had also had Britain under his command; and that many colonies of the northern part of Gaul, called *Belgium*, had gone over to Britain, and made settlements there, to which they had given their own names, and which had contributed to the peopling of many provinces in that island;—and if also the Britains had so frequently given the Gauls aid in all their wars;—and, lastly, if the learning of the Druids, which was honoured so much amongst the Gauls, was first taught them

\* Year before Christ 55.

† Cæs. Com. l. 1.

‡ Cæs. Com. l. 4.

§ Suet. vit. Cæs.

they



out of Britain, and those persons in Gaul who were most desirous of attaining that learning, were usually sent to Britain to learn it; it does not appear how Britain at that time should be so utterly unknown in Gaul, or only known to merchants, and even to them be so little known that, when they were called together from all parts, none could be found to inform Cæsar, of what bigness the island was; what nations its inhabitants consisted of; how great or numerous: what use of war they had; what laws; or even so much as what commodious harbours for vessels somewhat greater than the common size; as Cæsar in this passage informs us.

*His first Invasion.*

Of all which things, as it were then first to make discovery, he sends Caius Volusenus, in a long galley, with command to return as soon as this could be effected. He, in the mean time, with his whole power, draws nigh to the Morine coast, whence the shortest passage was into Britain. Hither his navy, which he had used against the Armoricans, and what else of shipping can be provided, he draws together. This being known in Britain, ambassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise hostages and obedience to the Roman empire. Them, after audience given, Cæsar, as largely promising and exhorting them to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them Comius of Arras, whom he had made king of that country, and now secretly employed to gain a Roman party among the Britains, in as many cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them that he himself was speeding thither. Volusenus, with what discovery of the island he could make from aboard his ship, not daring to venture on the shore, within five days returns to Cæsar. Who soon after, with two legions, ordinarily amounting, of Romans and their allies, to about 25,000 foot, and 4500 horse, the foot in 80 ships of burden, the horse in 18, besides what galleys were appointed for his chief commanders, sets off, about the third watch of night, with a good gale to sea; leaving behind him Sulpitius Rufus to make good the port with a sufficient strength. But the horse, whose appointed shipping lay wind-bound eight miles upward in another haven, had



had much trouble to embark. Cæsar, now within sight of Britain, beholds on every hill multitudes of armed men ready to forbid his landing; and \* Cicero writes to his friend Atticus, that the accesses of the island were wondrously fortified with strong works or moles. Here, from the fourth to the ninth hour of day, he awaits at anchor the coming-up of his whole fleet: Mean-while, with his Legates and Tribunes consulting, and giving order to fit all things for what might happen in such a various and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow bay, close environed with hills, appearing no way commodious, he removes to a plain and open shore eight miles distant; commonly supposed to be about Deal in Kent†. Which when the Britains perceived, their horse and chariots, (as then they used to do in fight) scowering before, their main power speeding after, some thick upon the shore; others, not tarrying to be assailed, ride in among the waves to encounter and assault the Romans even under their ships, with such a bold and free hardihood, that Cæsar himself (between confessing and excusing that his soldiers were to come down from their ships, to stand in water heavy-armed, and to fight at once,) denies not but that the terror of such new and resolute opposition made them forget their wonted valour. To succour which, he commands his galleys, a sight unusual to the Britains, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger vessels, to row against the open side of the enemy, and thence with slings, engines and darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, (though amazed at the strangeness of those new sea-castles, bearing-up so near, and so swiftly as almost to overwhelm them, and the hurtling of oars, and the battering of fierce engines against their bodies barely exposed,) did the Britains give much ground, or the Romans gain; till he who bore the eagle of the tenth legion, yet in the galleys first beseeching his gods, said thus aloud, "Leap down, soldiers! unless you mean to betray your ensign; I for my part will perform what I owe to the Commonwealth and my General." This uttered, overboard he leaps; and, with his eagle

The first battle between the Romans and the Britains.

\* Cic. Att. l. 4, Ep. 17.

† Camden.

fiercely

fiercely advanced, runs upon the enemy ; the rest, heartening one another not to admit the dishonour of so nigh losing their chief standard, follow him resolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both sides. Ours, who well knew their own advantages, and expertly used them, now in the shallows, now on the sand, still as the Romans went trooping to their ensigns, received them, dispatched them, and with the help of their horse, put them every where to great disorder. But Cæsar, causing all his boats and shallops to be filled with soldiers, commanded them to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need ; whereby at length all the foot now disembarked, and got together in some order on firm ground, with a more steady charge put the Britains to flight : but wanting all their horse, whom the winds yet withheld from sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight\*, Scæva, a Roman soldier, having pressed too far among the Britains, and, being beset round, after incredible valour shown, single against a multitude, swam back safe to his General ; and, in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against discipline : which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherein valour and ingenuity so much outweighed transgression, easily made amends and preferred him to be a centurion. Cæsar is also brought in by Julian†, as attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustained) of being the first that left his ship, and took land : but this were to make Cæsar less understand what became him than Scæva. The Britains, finding themselves mastered in fight, forthwith send ambassadors to treat of peace, promising to give hostages, and to be at command. With them Comius of Arras also returned ; whom hitherto, since his first coming from Cæsar, they had detained in prison as a spy : the blame whereof they lay on the common people ; for whose violence, and their own imprudence, they crave pardon. Cæsar, complaining that they had first sought peace, and then, without cause, had begun war, yet is content to pardon them, and commands hostages : whereof part

\* Valer. Max. Plutarch.

† In Cæsariibus.

they

they bring-in straight; others, far up in the country to be sent for, they promise in a few days. Mean-while, the people being disbanded and sent home; many princes and chief men from all parts of the isle submit themselves and their cities to the disposal of Cæsar, who lay then encamped, as is thought, on Barham-down.

Thus had the Britains made their peace; when suddenly an accident unlooked for put new counsels into their minds. Four days after the coming of Cæsar, those eighteen ships of burden, which from the upper haven had taken in all the Roman horse, borne with a soft wind to the very coast, in sight of the Roman camp, were by a sudden tempest scattered and driven back, some to the port from whence they loosed, others down into the west country; who, finding there no safety either to land or to cast anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled sea; and, as Oro-nius reports, were, most of them, cast-away. The same night, it being full moon, the galleys left upon dry land, were, unaware to the Romans, covered with a spring-tide, and the greater ships, that lay off at anchor, torn and beaten with waves, to the great perplexity of Cæsar and his whole army; who now had neither shipping left to convey them back, nor any provision made to stay here, intending to have wintered in Gallia. All this the Britains well perceiving, and, by the compass of his camp, (which, without baggage, appeared the smaller,) guessing at his numbers, consult together, and, one by one, slyly withdrawing from the camp, where they were waiting the conclusion of a peace, resolve to stop all provisions, and to draw-out the business till winter. Cæsar, though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the condition wherein he was, and their other hostages not being sent, suspecting what was likely, begins to provide against what might be, against what might happen; lays-in corn, and, with materials fetched from the continent, and what was left of those ships which were past help, he repairs the rest. So that now, by the incessant labour of his soldiers, all but twelve were again made serviceable. While these things are doing, one of the legions being sent-out to forage, as was accustomed, and no suspicion of war, while some of the Britains were remaining in  
the

the country about, others also going and coming freely to the Roman quarters. they who were in station at the camp-gates sent speedily word to Cæsar, that from that part of the country, to which the legion went, a greater dust than usual was seen to rise. Cæsar, guessing the matter, commands the cohorts of guard to follow him thither, two others to succeed in their stead, the rest are to arm and follow. They had not marched long, when Cæsar discerns his legion sore overcharged: for the Britains not doubting but that their enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreaped of all their harvest, had placed an ambush: and while they were dispersed and busiest at their labour, set upon them, killed some, and routed the rest. The manner of their fight was from a kind of chariots; wherein riding about and throwing darts, with the clutter of their horse and of their wheels, they oftentimes broke the rank of their enemies; then retreating among the horse, and quitting their chariots, they fought on foot. The charioteers in the mean while, somewhat aside from the battle, set themselves in such order, that their masters at any time oppressed with odds, might retire safely thither, having performed with one person both the nimble service of a horseman, and the steadfast duty of a foot soldier. So much they could with their chariots by use and exercise, as, riding on the speed down a steep hill, to stop suddenly, and with a short rein turn swiftly, now running on the beam, now on the yoke, then in the seat. With this sort of new skirmishing the Romans being now overmatched and terrified, Cæsar with opportune aid appears: for then the Britains make a stand. But he, considering that now was not a fit time to offer battle, while his men were scarce recovered of so late a fear, only keeps his ground, and soon after leads-back his legions to the camp.

Caesar, with his  
army returns to his  
camp.

Further action for many days following was hindered on both sides by foul weather; in which time the Britains, dispatching messengers round-about, learn to how small a number the Romans were reduced, and from that derive hope that they might gain both glory and booty, and free themselves from the fear of the like invasions hereafter, by making an example of this Roman army.



army, if they could but now uncamp their enemies.— At this intimation multitudes of horse and foot, coming down from all parts, make towards the Romans. Cæsar, foreseeing that the Britains, though beaten and put to flight, would easily evade his foot, yet with no more than thirty horse, which Comius had brought over, draws out his men to battle, puts again the Britains to flight, pursues them with slaughter, and remaining burns and lays waste the country all about. Whereupon, ambassadors, on the same day being sent from the Britains to desire peace, Cæsar, as his affairs at present stood, for so great a breach of faith only imposes on them double the former number of hostages to be sent after him into Gallia; and, because September was nigh half-spent, (a season not fit to tempt the sea with his weather-beaten fleet,) the same night with a fair wind he departs towards Belgia; whither two only of the British cities sent hostages, as they promised, the rest neglected. But at Rome, when the news came of Cæsar's acts here, whether it were esteemed a conquest or a fair escape, a supplication of twenty days is decreed by the senate, as either for an exploit done, or a discovery made, wherein both Cæsar and the Romans gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him or to the commonwealth.

The winter following \*, Cæsar, as his custom was, going into Italy, when as he saw that most of the Britains neglected to send their hostages, appoints his legates, whom he left in Belgia, to provide what possible shipping they could either build, or repair. Low-built they were to be, as thereby easier both to freight, and to hale ashore; nor needed they to be higher, because the tide, so often changing, was observed to make the billows less in our sea than those in the Mediterranean: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of horses, and all other freightage, being intended chiefly for that end. These, in all about six hundred, being in a readiness, with twenty-eight ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks, above two hundred, (Cotta, one of the legates, wrote them, as Athenæus affirms, in all one thousand); Cæsar, from port Iccius, (a

\* Dion, Cæsar. Cont. 5.

passage of some thirty miles over,) leaving behind him Labienus to guard the haven, and for other supply at need, with five legions. though but two thousand horse, about sun-set hoisting sail with a slack south-west wind, at mid-night was becalmed; and finding, when it was light, that the whole navy, lying on the current, had fallen-off from the isle, which now they could descry on their left hand; by the unwearied labour of his soldiers, who refused not to tug the oar, and kept course with ships under sail, he bore-up, as near as might be, to the same place where he had landed the year before; where about noon arriving\*, no enemy could be seen. For the Britains, who in great numbers, (as was afterwards known,) had been there, at sight of so huge a fleet durst not abide. Cæsar forthwith landing his army, and encamping to his best advantage, (some notice being given him by those he took, where to find his enemy); with the whole power, save only ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, left with Quintus Atrius for the guard of his ships, about the third watch of the same night, marches up twelve miles into the country. And at length by a river, (commonly thought to be the Stovre in Kent,) espies embattled the British forces. They with their horses and chariots advancing to the higher banks, oppose the Romans in their march, and begin the fight; but being repulsed by the Roman cavalry, give-back into the woods to a place notably made strong both by art and nature; which, it seems, had been a fort, or hold of strength, raised heretofore by the Britains in time of wars among themselves. For entrance, and access on all sides, by the felling of huge trees overthwart one another, was quite barred-up, and within these the Britains did their utmost to keep-out the enemy. But the soldiers of the seventh legion locking all their shields together like a roof close over head, and others raising a mount, without much loss of blood took the place, and drove them all to forsake the woods. Pursuit they made not long, as being through ways unknown: and now evening came-on, which they more wisely spent in choosing-out where to pitch and fortify their camp that night. The next morning Cæsar had but newly sent-out his men in three bodies to pursue; and the last no further gone than yet

A battle between the Britains and the Romans,

\* Before the birth of Christ, 52 years.



A great number of ships in Cæsar's fleet are destroyed by a violent tempest in the night.

in sight, when horsemen all in post from Quintus Atrius bring word to Cæsar; that almost all his ships in a tempest that night had suffered wreck, and lay broken upon the shore. Cæsar at this news recalls his legions; himself in all haste riding-back to the sea-side, beheld with his eyes the ruinous prospect. About forty vessels were sunk and lost, and the residue so torn and shaken as not to be new-rigged without much labour. Straight he assembles what number of shipwrights either in his own legions or from beyond sea could be summoned; sends orders to Labienus on the Belgian side to build more; and, with a dreadful industry of ten days, not respiting the soldiers day or night, drew-up all his ships, and entrenched them round within the circuit of his camp. This done, and leaving to their defence the same strength as before, he returns with his whole forces to the same wood, where he had defeated the Britains; who, preventing him with greater powers than before, had now repossessed themselves of that place, under Cassibelan their chief leader: whose territory from the states bordering on the sea was divided by the river Thames about eighty miles inward. With him formerly other cities had continual war; but now, in the common danger, they had all made choice of him to be their General. Here the British horse and charioteers, meeting with the Roman cavalry, fought stoutly; and at first, being something overmatched, they retreat to the near advantage of their woods and hills; but, being still followed by the Romans, make head again, cut-off the forwardmost among them, and, after some pause, while Cæsar, (who thought the day's work had been done,) was busied about the entrenching of his camp, march-out again, give fierce assault to the very stations of his guards and sentries; and, while the main cohorts of two legions, that were sent to the alarm, stood within a small distance of each other, terrified at the newness and boldness of their fight, charged back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the Romans that day was slain Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune: and the Britains, having fought their fill at the very entrance of Cæsar's camp, and sustained the resistance of his whole army entrenched, gave-over the assault. Cæsar here acknowledges, that  
the

Cassibelan is chosen chief leader of the Britains.

Another great battle between the Britains and the Romans, without a victory on either side.

the Roman way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of enemy; for that the foot in heavy armour could not follow their cunning flight, and durst not, by ancient discipline, stir from their ensign; and the horse alone disjoined from the legions, against a foe that turned suddenly upon them with a mixed encounter both of horse and foot, were in equal danger both in following and in retiring. Besides, their fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions and open distances to make their onset; appointing others, at certain spaces, now to relieve and bring-off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argued no small experience, and use of arms. Next day the Britains afar off upon the hills begin to show themselves here and there, and (though less boldly than before,) to skirmish with the Roman horse. But at noon, Cæsar having sent-out three legions, and all his horse, with Trebonius the legate, to seek fodder, suddenly on all sides they set upon the foragers, and charge-up after them to the very legions, and their standards. The Romans with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, being well seconded by the legions, not giving them time either to rally, or stand, or to descend from their chariots as they were wont, slew many. From this overthrow, the Britains that dwelt farther off betook them home; and came no more after that time with so great a power against Cæsar. Whereof advertised, he marches onward to the frontiers of Cassibelan\*, which on this side were bounded by the Thames, not passable except in one place, and that difficult, about Coway-stakes near Oatlands, as is conjectured. Hither coming he descries on the other side great forces of the enemy, placed in good array; the bank set all with sharp stakes, others in the bottom, covered with water; whereof the marks, in Beda's time, were to be seen, as he relates. This having learned by such as were taken, or had run to him, he first commands his horse to pass over; then his foot, who wading up to the neck, went-on so resolutely and so fast, that they on the other side, not en-

A third battle between the Britains and the Romans, in which the Romans are victorious.

\* Camden.

during the violence, retreated and fled. Cassibelan, no more now in hope to contend for victory, dismissing all but four thousand of those charioteers, through woods and intricate ways attends their motion; where the Romans are to pass, drives all before him; and with continual sallies upon the horse, where they least expected, cutting-off some and terrifying others, compels them so close together, as gave them no leave to fetch-in prey or booty without ill success. Whereupon Cæsar, strictly commanding all not to part from the legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty fields and houses, which he spoiled and burnt.

The Trinobantes treat with Cæsar and assist him against Cassibelan.

Mean-while the Trinobantes, a state or kingdom, and perhaps the greatest then among the Britains, less favouring Cassibelan, send ambassadors, and yield to Cæsar upon this reason. Immanuentius had been their king; him Cassibelan had slain, and purposed the like to Mandubratius his son, whom Orosius calls Androgorius, Beda Androgius; but the youth, escaping by flight into Gallia, put himself under the protection of Cæsar. These entreat, that Mandubratius may be still defended, and sent home to succeed in his father's right. Cæsar sends him, demands forty hostages and provision for his army; which they immediately bring-in, and have their confines protected from the soldiers. By their example the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi (so I write them, for the modern names are but guessed), on like terms make their peace. By them he learns that the town of Cassibelan, (supposed to be Verulam,) was not far distant; fenced about with woods and marshes, well stuffed with men and much cattle. For towns then in Britain were only woody places ditched round, and with a mud-wall encompassed against the inroads of enemies. Thither goes Cæsar with his legions, and, though a place of great strength both by art and nature, assaults it in two places. The Britains, after some defence, fled-out all at another end of the town; in the flight many were taken, many slain, and great store of cattle found there. Cassibelan, notwithstanding all these losses, yet does not desert himself, nor was yet his authority so much impaired, but that in Kent, (though it was in a manner

Cæsar attacks and takes the chief town of Cassibelan.

manner possessed by the enemy,) his messengers and commands find obedience enough to raise all the people. By his direction, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, four kings reigning in those countries which lie upon the sea, lead them on to assault that camp, wherein the Romans had entrenched their shipping: but they whom Cæsar left there, issuing-out, slew many, and took prisoner Cingetorix, a noted leader, without loss of their own.—Cassibelan, after so many defeats, moved especially by the revolt of the cities from him, their inconstancy and falsehood one to another, uses the mediætion of Comius of Arras to send ambassadors to him about treaty of yielding. Cæsar, who had determined to winter in the continent, by reason that Gallia was unsettled, and not much of the summer now behind, commands him only hostages, and what yearly tribute the island should pay to Rome, forbids him to molest the Trinobantes, or Mandubratius; and with his hostages, and a great number of captives, he puts to sea, having at twice embarked his whole army. At his return to Rome, as from a glorious enterprise, he offers to Venus, the patroness of his family a corslet of British pearls\*.

Cassibelan sues to Cæsar for peace, and submits to his orders.

Cæsar with his army returns again to Gaul before the winter.

Howbeit, other ancient writers have spoken more doubtfully of Cæsar's victories here; and have said that in plain terms he fled from hence; for which the common verse in Lucan†, with divers passages here and there in Tacitus, is alledged. Paulus Orosius‡, who took what he wrote from a history of Suetonius now lost, writes, that Cæsar in his first journey, entertained with a sharp fight, lost no small number of his foot, and by a tempest nigh all his horse. Dion affirms, that once in the second expedition all his foot were routed; Orosius, that another time all his horse. The British author, (whom I use only then when others are all silent,) hath many trivial discourses of Cæsar's actions there, which are best omitted. Nor have we more of Cassibelan, than what the same story tells, how he warred soon after with Androgeus, about his nephew slain by Evelinus nephew to the other; which business being at length composed, Cassibelan dies, and was buried in York, if the Monmouth book fable not.

\* Pliny.

† Oros. lib. 6, c. 7 and 8.

‡ Territa quæsitit ostendit terga Britannis.

Lucan's Pharsalia, book 2d. line 572.

A description of the  
Britains at the time  
of these invasions.

But at Cæsar's coming hither, such likeliest were the Britains, as the writers of those times\*, and their own actions represent them. In courage and warlike readiness to take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, they were not inferior to the Romans, nor Cassibelan to Cæsar; in weapons, arms, and the skill of encamping, embattling, fortifying, over-matched. Their weapons were a short spear and light target, a sword also by their side: their fight sometimes in chariots fanged at the axle with iron scythes. Their bodies were most part naked; only painted with woad in sundry figures, to seem terrible†, as they thought: but, when pursued by enemies, they were not nice of their painting, but were used to run into bogs, worse than wild Irish, up to the neck, and there to stay many days holding a certain morsel in their mouths no bigger than a bean, to suffice hunger‡; but that receipt, and the temperance it taught, is long since unknown among us. Their towns and strongholds were spaces of ground fenced about with a ditch, and great trees felled overthwart each other. Their buildings within were thatched houses for themselves and their cattle. In peace the upland inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their flocks and herds, but with little skill of country affairs; the making of cheese they commonly knew not; wool or flax they spun not; gardening and planting many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the skins of beasts afforded them§, and that not always. Yet gallantry they had||, painting their own skins with several portraitures of beast, bird, or flower; a vanity which hath not yet left us, removed only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many coloured ribbands and gewgaws. Towards the sea-side they tilled the ground, and lived much after the manner of the Gauls their neighbours, or first planters¶: their money was brazen pieces or iron rings; their best merchandize tin; the rest trifles of glass, ivory, and such like\*\*; yet gems and pearls they had, saith Mela, in some rivers. Their ships were made of light timber wickered with osier between, and covered over with leather, and served not therefore to transport them far; and their commodities were fetched away

\* Dion, Mela, Cæsar. † Herodian. ‡ Dion. § Herodian.  
|| Solinus. ¶ Cæsar. \*\* Tacitus; Diodor; Strabo, Lucan,



by foreign merchants: their dealing, saith Diodorus, was plain and simple without fraud. Their civil government is as under many princes and states\*, not confederate or consulting in common; but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up, one by one, an easy conquest to the Romans. Their religion was governed by a sort of priests or magicians, called *Druides* The Druids. from the Greek name of an oak, which tree they had in great reverence, and the misletoe especially growing thereon. Pliny writes them skilled in magic no less than those of Persia. By their abstaining from a hen, a hare and a goose, from fish also, saith Dion, and their opinion of the soul's passing after death into other bodies†, they may be thought to have studied Pythagoras; yet philosophers I cannot call them, as they were reported to be men factious and ambitious, contending sometimes about the archpriest-hood, not without civil war and slaughter. Nor did they restrain the people under them from a lewd, adulterous, and incestuous, life, ten or twelve men, (absurdly against nature,) possessing one woman as their common wife though of nearest kin, mother, daughter, or sister; progenitors not to be gloried in. But the gospel, not long after preached here, abolished such impurities; and of the Romans we have cause not to say much worse, than "that they beat us into some civility;" who were likely else to have continued longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life.

After Julius (for Julius before his death tyrannously had made himself emperor of the Roman commonwealth, and was slain in the senate for so doing) he who next obtained the empire, Octavianus Cæsar Augustus, (either condemning the island, (as Strabo ‡ would have us think.) whose friendship was not worth the having, nor enmity worth the fearing; or, as some say, out of a wholesome state-maxim, to moderate and bound the empire from growing too extensive and unwieldy,) made no attempt against the Britains. But the truer cause was, partly, a civil war among the Romans, and partly, other affairs more urging. For, about twenty years after §,

The state of Britain in the time of Augustus Cæsar.

\* Tacitus. † Cæsar. ‡ Strabo, l. 2. § Year before the birth of Christ, 32.



(all which time the Britains had lived at their own disposal) Augustus, in imitation of his uncle Julius, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was come into Gallia, when the news of a revolt in Pannonia diverted him from undertaking it \*: and about seven years after, in the same resolution, what with the unsettledness of Gallia, and what with ambassadors from Britain which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, some difference arising between him and the Britains about covenants, he was again prevented by other new commotions in Spain. Nevertheless some of the British potentates omitted not to seek his friendship by gifts offered in the capitol, and other obsequious addresses. Insomuch that the whole island † became even in those days well known to the Romans; too well, perhaps, for them, who, from the knowledge of us, were so like to prove enemies. But, as for tribute, the Britains paid none to Augustus, except what easy customs were levied on the slight commodities wherewith they traded into Gallia.

After Cassibelan, Tenantius the younger son of Lud, according to the Monmouth story, was made king. For Androgeus the elder, conceiving himself generally hated for siding with the Romans, forsook his claim here, and followed Cæsar's fortune. This king is recorded just and warlike.

His son Kymbeline, or Cunobeline, succeeding, was brought-up, as is said, in the court of Augustus, and with him held friendly correspondences to the end; was a warlike prince; his chief seat Camalodunum, or Maldon, as by certain of his coins, yet to be seen, appears. Tiberius, the next emperor, adhering always to the advice of Augustus, and of himself less caring to extend the bounds of his empire, sought not the Britains; and they, as little to incite him, sent home courteously the soldiers of Germanicus, that by shipwreck had been cast on the British shore ‡. But Caligula §, his successor, a wild and dissolute tyrant, having passed the Alps with intent to rob and spoil those provinces, and stirred-up

The successors of  
Cassibelan.

Kymbeline, or Cu-  
nobelineus.

Tiberius Cæsar.

Caligula.

\* Dion. l. 49; year before the birth of Christ, 25: Dion. l. 53, 24.

† Strabo, l. 4. ‡ Tacit. an. l. 2. § Year after the birth of Christ, 16. Dion, Sueton. Cal. An. Dom. 40.

by Adminius the son of Gunobeline, (who, by his father banished, with a small number fled thither to him,) made semblance of marching toward Britain; but, being come to the ocean, and there behaving himself madly and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting letters to the Senate, as if all Britain had been yielded to him. Cunobeline being now dead, and Adminius, the eldest of his sons, having, by his father, been banished from his country, and by his own practice against it from the crown, though by an old coin seeming to have also reigned; Togodumnus, and Caractacus, the two younger, (uncertain whether unequal or subordinate in power,) were advanced into his place. But through civil discord, Bericus, (what he was further, is not known) with others of his party flying to Rome\*, persuaded Claudius the emperor, to an invasion. Claudius, now consul for the third time, and desirous to do something whence he might gain the honour of a triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, whom the Britains demanding, he had denied to render, and they for that cause had denied further amity with Rome, makes choice of this island for his province†: and sends before him Aulus Plautius the prætor, with this command, if the business grew difficult, to give him notice. Plautius with much ado persuaded the legions to move out of Gallia, who murmured "that now they must be put to make war beyond the world's end;" for so they counted Britain; and what welcome, Julius, the dictator had found there, doubtless they had heard. At last being prevailed with to obey the commands of their General, and hoisting sail from three several ports, lest their landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross winds, they were cast back and disheartened: till in the night a meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fancied, directing their course, they took heart again to try the sea, and without opposition landed. For the Britains, having heard of their unwillingness to come, had been negligent to provide against them; and retiring to the woods and moors, intended to frustrate and wear them out with delays, as they had served Cæsar before. Plautius, after much trouble to find them out, encountering

Claudius Cæsar.

The Romans again invade Britain.

Aulus Plautius, with a Roman army, lands in Britain.

\* Dion.

† 45 Sueton.

first with Caractacus, then with Togodumnus, overthrew them; and receiving into conditions part of the Boduni, (who then were subject to the Catuellani,) and leaving there a garrison, went on toward a river; where the Britains, not imagining that Plautius without a bridge could pass, lay on the further side careless and secure. But he, sending first the Germans, (whose custom was, armed as they were, to swim with ease the strongest current,) commands them to strike especially at the horses, whereby the chariots, wherein consisted their chief art of fight, became unserviceable. To second them, he sent Vespasian, (who in his latter days obtained the empire,) and Sabinus his brother; who, unexpectedly assailing those who were least aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the Britains dismayed; but re-uniting the next day, fought with such a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the victory: till Caius Sidius Geta, at point to have been taken, recovered himself so valiantly, as brought the day on his side; for which at Rome he received high honours. After this the Britains drew-back toward the mouth of the river Thames, and, being acquainted with those places, crossed-over; where the Romans following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loss of all. Yet the Germans getting over, and others by a bridge at some place above, fell on them again with sundry alarms and great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into bogs and mires lost as many of their own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the Britains more enraged at the death of Togodumnus, who in one of these battles had been slain, Plautius fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoined him, sends to Claudius. He, who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe enough amidst the flower of all his Romans, like a great Eastern king, with armed elephants marches through Gallia. So full of peril was this enterprise esteemed, as not without all this equipage, and stranger terrors than Roman armies, to meet the native and the naked British valour defending their country. Joined with Plautius, who encamping on the bank of the Thames attended him, he passes the river. The Britains, who had the courage, but

And is soon after joined by the emperor Claudius himself, at the head of a very large army.

The Britains are defeated by the emperor Claudius;

but not the wise conduct of old Cassibelan, laying all stratagem aside, in downright manhood scruple not to affront in open field almost the whole power of the Roman empire. But overcome and vanquished, part by force, others by treaty, come in and yield. Claudius therefore, who took Camalodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, was often by the army saluted *Imperator*; a military title which usually they gave their General after any notable exploit; but to others, not above once in the same war; as if Claudius, by these acts, had deserved more than the laws of Rome had provided honour to reward. Having therefore disarmed the Britains, but remitted the confiscation of their goods\*, (for which they worshipped him with sacrifice and temple as a god,) leaving Plautius to subdue what remained, he returns to Rome, from whence he had been absent only six months, and in Britain but sixteen days; sending the news before him of his victories, though in a small part of the island. By which is manifestly refuted that which Eutropius and Orosius write of his conquering at that time also the Orcades islands, lying to the North of Scotland; and not conquered by the Romans (for aught found in any good author) till above forty years after, as shall appear. To Claudius the senate, as for achievements of highest merit, decreed excessive honours; arches, triumphs, annual solemnities, and the surname of Britannicus both to him and his son.

who thereupon obtains the surname of *Britannicus*.

Suetonius writes, that Claudius found here no resistance, and that all was done without a stroke: but this seems not probable. The Monmouth writer names these two sons of Cunobeline, Guiderius and Arviragus; that Guiderius being slain in fight, Arviragus, to conceal it, put on his brother's habiliments, and in his person held up the battle to a victory; the rest, as of Hano the Roman captain, Genuissa the Emperor's daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehearsing in the midst of truth. Plautius after this, employing his fresh forces to conquer on, and quiet the rebelling countries, found work enough to deserve at his return a kind of triumphant riding into the capitol side-by-side

\* Dion. l. 62. Tacit. an. 14; 44.

with



Vespasian gains many victories over the Britains.

Ostorius succeeds Aulus Plautius in the command of the Roman army in Britain.

with the emperor\*. Vespasian also under Plautius had thirty conflicts with the enemy; in one of which encompassed, and in great danger, he was valiantly and piously rescued by his son Titus†: two powerful nations he subdued here, above twenty towns, and the Isle of Wight; for which he received at Rome triumphal ornaments, and other great dignities. For that city in reward of virtue was ever magnificent: and long after, when true merit was ceased among them, lest any thing resembling virtue should want honour, the same rewards were yet allowed to the very shadow and ostentation of merit. Ostorius, in the room of Plautius viceprætor, met with turbulent affairs‡; the Britains not ceasing to vex with inroads all those countries that were yielded to the Romans; and now the more eagerly from their§ supposing that the new General, being unacquainted with his army, and on the edge of winter, would not hastily oppose them. But he, weighing that first events were most available to breed fear or contempt, resolves to begin by acting with vigour against them, and, with such cohorts as were next at hand, sets-out against them: whom having routed, so close he follows, as one who meant not to be every day molested with the cavils of a slight peace, or an emboldened enemy. Lest they should make head again, he disarms those whom he suspects; and to surround them, places many garrisons upon the rivers of Antona and Sabrina. But the Icenians, a stout people, untouched yet by these wars, as having before sought alliance with the Romans, were the first that brooked not this. By their example others rise; and in a chosen place, fenced with high banks of earth and narrow lanes to prevent the horse from acting, warily encamp. Ostorius, though yet not strengthened with his legions, causes the auxiliar bands, his troops also alighting, to assault the rampart. They within, though pestered with their own number, stood to it like men resolved, and in a narrow compass did remarkable deeds. But overpowered at last, and others by their success quieted, who till then wavered, Ostorius next bends his force upon the Cangians, wasting all the country even to the sea of Ireland, without foe in his

\* Sueton. Claud. 5, 24.

† 50. Tacit. an. 12.

‡ Sueton. Vesp. Dio. l. 60, 47.

§ Eutropius.

way,

way, or them, who durst, ill handled; when the Brigantes, attempting new matters, drew him back to settle first what was unsecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were punished, the rest forgiven, soon gave-over; but the Silures, no way tractable, were not to be repressed without a set war. To further this, Camalodunum was planted with a colony of veteran soldiers; to be a firm and ready aid against revolts, and a means to teach the natives Roman law and civility. Cogidunus also, a British king, their fast friend, had to the same intent certain cities given him\*: a haughty craft, which the Romans used, to make kings also the servile agents of enslaving others. But the Silures, hardy of themselves, relied more on the valour of Caractacus; whom many doubtful, many prosperous successes, had made eminent above all that ruled in Britain. He, adding to his courage policy, and knowing himself to be of strength inferior, in other advantages the better, makes the seat of his war among the Ordovices; a country wherein all the odds were to his own party, all the difficulties to his enemy. The hills and every access he fortified with heaps of stones, and guards of men; to come at whom a river of unsafe passage must be first waded. The place, as Camden conjectures, had thence the name of Cacr-caradoc, on the West edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his officers and leaders, that "this was the day, this the field, either to defend their liberty, or to die free;" calling to mind the names of his glorious ancestors, who drove Cæsar, the dictator, out of Britain, and whose valour hitherto had preserved them from bondage, and their wives and children from dishonour. Inflamed with these words, they all gave their utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amazed the Roman general; but the soldiers, less weighing, because less knowing, clamoured to be led on against any danger. Ostorius, after wary circumspection, bids them pass the river; the Britains no sooner had them within reach of their arrows, darts and stones, but slew and wounded largely of the Romans. They on the

A Roman colony is planted at Camalodunum by Ostorius.

Of Caractacus.

The Britains are defeated by the Romans under Ostorius.

\* Tacit. vit. Agric.



Caractacus is taken  
prisoner and carried  
to Rome;

The address of Ca-  
ractacus to Claudius  
Cæsar.

other side closing their ranks, and over head closing their targets, threw down the loose rampires of the Britains, and pursue them up the hills, both light and armed legions; till what with galling darts and heavy strokes, the Britains, who wore neither helmet nor cuirass to defend them, were at last overcome. This the Romans thought a famous victory; wherein the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken, his brothers also reduced to obedience; himself escaping to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, against faith given was to the victors delivered bound; having held-out against the Romans nine years, saith Tacitus, but, by truer computation, seven. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoining provinces, even to Italy and Rome; many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the Roman puissance: and Cæsar, to extol his own victory, extolled the man whom he had vanquished. Being brought to Rome, the people, as to a solemn spectacle, were called together, the emperor's guard stood in arms. In order came first the king's servants, bearing his trophies won in other wars, next his brothers, wife and daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others, through fear, was low and degenerate; he only neither in countenance, word, or action, submissive, standing at the tribunal of Claudius, briefly speak to this purpose: "If my mind, Cæsar, had been as moderate in the height of fortune, as my birth and dignity was eminent, I might have come a friend, rather than a captive, into this city. Nor couldst thou have disliked him for a confederate, so noble of descent, and ruling so many nations. My present estate, to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious. I had riches, horses, arms, and men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if, by fate, yours only must be empire, then of necessity ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had been brought to yield, my misfortune had been less notorious, your conquest had been less renowned; and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgotten. But, if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so near divine, the clemency of a conqueror." Cæsar, moved at such a spectacle of fortune,

tune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest. They all unbound, submissly thank him, and did like reverence to Agrippina, the emperor's wife, who sat-by in state; a new and disdained sight to the manly eyes of Romans, a woman sitting publicly in her female pride among Ensigns and armed cohorts. To Ostorius a triumph is decreed; and his military services are extolled as being equal to those of former great Roman commanders, who had brought the most famous kings to Rome in chains as their prisoners of war. But the same prosperity attended not his later actions here; for the Silures, whether to revenge the loss of Caractacus, or that they saw Ostorius, (as if now all were done,) to have become less earnest to restrain them, beset the prefect of his camp, who was left there with legionary bands to appoint garrisons: and, had not speedy aid come-in from the neighbouring holds and castles, would have cut them all off; notwithstanding which, the prefect, with eight centuries, and many of their stoutest men, were slain: and upon the neck of this, meeting first with Roman foragers, then with other troops hasting to their relief, utterly foiled and broke them also. Ostorius sending more troops after, could hardly stay their flight; till the weighty legions coming-on, at first poised the battle, and at length turned the scale to the Britains, without much loss; for by that time it grew night. Then was the war shivered, as it were, into small frays and bickerings; not unlike sometimes to so many robberies, in woods, at waters, as chance or valour, advice or rashness, led them on, commanded, or without command. That which most exasperated the Silures, was a report of certain words cast-out by the emperor. "That he would root them out to the very name." Therefore two cohorts more of auxiliaries, who, by the avarice of their leaders, were too securely pillaging, they quite intercepted; and, bestowing liberally on the neighbouring Britains the spoils and captives, whereof they took plenty, drew other countries to join with them. These losses falling so thick upon the Romans, Ostorius with the thought and anguish thereof ended his days; the Britains rejoicing, although no battle, that yet adverse war had worn-out so great a soldier. Caesar in his place ordains

Ostorius is honoured with a triumph.

The Britains called Silures resist the Romans with success.

Ostorius dies, and is succeeded by Aulus Didius.

Aulus Didius; but ere his coming, (though much hastened, that the province might not want a governor,) the Silures had given an overthrow to Manlius Valens with his legion; which was rumoured on both sides to be greater than was true; by the Silures to animate the new general; by him, in a double respect, of the more praise if he quelled them, or the more excuse if he failed. Mean-time the Silures forgot not to infest the Roman pale with wide excursions; till Didius, marching-out, kept them somewhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after Caractacus should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of war, Venutius, a prince of the Brigantes, merited to be their chief. He, at first, faithful to the Romans, and by them protected, was the husband of Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, himself perhaps reigning elsewhere. She, who had betrayed Caractacus and her country to adorn the triumph of Claudius, thereby grown powerful and gracious with the Romans, presuming on the hire of her treason, deserted her husband; and marrying Vellocatus, one of his squires, confers on him the kingdom also. This deed, so odious and full of infamy, disturbed the whole state; Venutius, with other forces, and the help of her own subjects, who detested the example of so foul a fact, and withal the uncomeliness of their subjection to the monarchy of a woman, (a piece of manhood not every day to be found among Britains,) though she had got by subtil train his brother, with many of his kindred, into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of being able to resist longer. When, imploring the Roman aid, with much ado, and after many a hard encounter, she escaped the punishment which was ready to have seized her. Venutius, thus debarred the authority of ruling his own household, justly turns his anger against the Romans themselves; whose magnanimity, not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly intermeddled in his domestic affairs, to uphold the rebellion of an adulteress against her husband. And the kingdom he retained against their utmost opposition; and of war gave them their fill; first in a sharp conflict of uncertain event, then against the legion of Cæsius Nasica. Inasmuch that

Venutius is chosen  
Leader, or Chieftain,  
of the Britains, in  
lieu of Caractacus.

that Didius, growing old, and managing the war by deputies, had work enough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small castle. And Nero\* (for in that part of the isle things continued in the same plight to the reign of Vespasian) was minded, but for shame, to have withdrawn the Roman forces out of Britain: in other parts whereof, about the same time, other things befel†. Verannius, whom Nero sent hither to succeed Didius, dying in his first year, saving a few inroads upon the Silures, left only a great boast behind him, "That in two years, had he lived, he would have conquered all." But Suetonius Paulinus, who next was sent hither, esteemed a soldier equal to the best in that age, for two years together went on prosperously, both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last, overconfident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, he marches up as far as Mona, the isle of Anglesey, a populous place. For they, it seems, had both entertained fugitives and given good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him boats with flat bottoms, fitted to the shallows which he expected in that narrow frith; his foot so passed-over, his horse waded or swam. Thick upon the shore stood several gross bands of men well weaponed, many women, like furies, running to and fro in dismal habit, with their hair loose about their shoulders, held torches in their hands. The Druids (those were their priests, of whom more in another place) with hands lifted-up to Heaven, uttering direful prayers, astonished the Romans; who, at so strange a sight stood in amaze, though wounded: but at length, awakened and encouraged by their General not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall-on, and beat them down, scorched and rolling in their own fire. Then were they yoked with garrisons, and the places consecrated to their bloody superstitions destroyed. For whom they took in war, they held it lawful to sacrifice; and by the entrails of men used divination. While thus Paulinus had his thought still fixed before to go on winning, his back lay broad open to occasion of losing more behind: for the Britons, urged and oppressed with many

Verannius succeeds to Aulus Didius, and is soon succeeded by Suetonius Paulinus.

The Romans defeat the Britains in the Isle of Mona, or Anglesey.

\* Tacit. vit. Agric.

† Tacit. Hist. 3. Sueton.



But the acts of oppression committed against the Britains in other parts of the Island by the Romans, long on a new revolt from their government.

The Icenians and many other Britains take arms against the Romans.

unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all written by one author; Tacitus, who lived nearest those times of any to us extant, writes that Prasutagus, king of the Icenians, abounding in wealth, had left Cæsar coheir with his two daughters; thereby hoping to have secured from all wrong both his kingdom and his house; which fell out far otherwise. For, under colour to oversee and take possession of the emperor's new inheritance, his kingdom became a prey to centurions, his house to ravening officers, his wife Boadicea violated with stripes, his daughters with rape, the wealthiest of his subjects, as it were, by the will and testament of their king, thrown out of their estates, his kindred made little better than slaves. The new colony also at Camalodunum took house or land from whom they pleased, turning them slaves and vassals; the soldiers complying with the colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover the temple erected to Claudius, as a badge of their eternal slavery, stood a great eye-sore; the priests whereof, under the pretext of what was due to the religious service, wasted and embezzled each man's substance upon themselves. And Catus Decianus the procurator, endeavoured to bring all their goods within the compass of new confiscation\*, by disavowing the remitment of Claudius. Lastly, Seneca, in his books a philosopher, having drawn the Britains unwillingly to borrow of him vast sums upon fair promises of easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compels them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provoked by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of Paulinus, the Icenians, and by their examples the Trinobantes, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in arms. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signs appeared; the image of victory at Camalodunum fell down of itself with her face turned, as it were, to the Britons; certain women, in a kind of ecstasy, foretold of calamities to come: in the council-house were heard by night barbarous noises: in the theatre hideous howlings; in the creek horrid

\* Dion.

sights,

sights, betokening the destruction of that colony; hereto the ocean seeming of a bloody hue, and human shapes, at low ebb, left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the Britons new courage, in the Romans unwonted fears. Camalodunum, where the Romans had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortified; against that therefore the Britons make their first assault. The soldiers within were not very many. Decianus, the procurator, could send them but two hundred, and those ill-armed: and, through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favoured the insurrection, they had deferred both to entrench themselves, and to send out of the place such of the inhabitants as did not bear arms; such as did, flying to the temple, which on the second day was forcibly taken, were all put to the sword, the temple made a heap, and the rest of the town rifled and burnt. Petilius Cerealis coming to to his succour, is in his way met and overthrown, his whole legion cut to pieces; he with his horse hardly escaping to the Roman camp. Decianus, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into Gallia. But Suetonius, at these tidings not dismayed, through the midst of his enemy's country, marches to London which, though not termed a colony, yet was full of Roman inhabitants, and, for the frequency of trade, and other commodities, a town even then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of war. But, considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of Petilius, he chooses rather with the loss of one town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but, taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who, through weakness of sex or age, or love of the place, went not along with him, perished by the enemy; so did Verulam, a Roman free-town. For the Britons, omitting forts and castles, flew thither first where richest booty, and the hope of pillaging, tolled them on. In this massacre about seventy thousand Romans and their associates, in the places above-mentioned, of certain lost their lives. None might be spared, none ransomed, but tasted all either a present or a lingering death; no cruelty that either outrage or the insolence of success put into their heads,

The Britains take Camalodunum.

They defeat Petilius Cerealis, and take London and Verulam, and massacre all the Roman inhabitants, to the number of 70,000 persons.



But are soon after  
defeated by Sueton-  
ius Paulinus with  
prodigious slaugh-  
ter.

was left unacted. The Roman wives and virgins were hanged-up all naked\*, and had their breasts cut-off, and sewed to their mouths; that, in the grimness of death, they might seem to eat their own flesh; while the Britons fell to feasting and carousing in the temple of Andate, their goddess of victory. Suetonius, adding to his legion other old officers and soldiers thereabout, which gathered to him, were near upon ten thousand; and purposing with those not to defer battle, had chosen a place narrow, and, not to be overwinged, on his rear a wood; being well informed that his enemy were all in front on a plain unapt for ambush: the legionaries stood thick in order, equipped with light-armed; the horse on either wing. The Britons in companies and squadrons were every where shouting and swarming, such a multitude as at other time was never seen assembled; no less reckoned than two hundred and thirty thousand: so fierce and confident of victory, that their wives also came in waggons to sit and behold the sport, (as they made full account) of killing Romans: a folly doubtless for the serious Romans to smile at; as a sure token of prospering that day: a woman also was their commander in chief. For Boadicea and her daughters ride about in a chariot, telling the tall champions, as a great encouragement, that with the Britons it was usual for women to be their leaders: A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lashed, how her daughters were handled, things worthier silence, retirement, and a veil, than for a woman to repeat, as done to her own person, or to hear repeated before an host of men. The Greek historian† sets her in a field on a high heap of turves, in a loose-bodied gown declaiming, a spear in her hand, a hare in her bosom; which, after a long circumlocution, she was to let slip among them for luck's sake; then praying to Andate, the British goddess, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set-out their history with the strangeness of our manners, not caring; in the mean while, to brand us with the rankest note of barbarism, as if in Britain women were men, and men women. I affect not

\* Dion. l. 62.

† Dion.

set speeches in a history; unless known for certain to have been so spoken in effect as they are written; nor then, unless they are worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, (as some historians have done,) is an abuse of posterity, raising, in them that read, other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less therefore do I purpose here or elsewhere to copy-out tedious orations without decorum, though in their authors composed ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of Cassibelan, Togodumnus, Venutius, and Caractacus, hath been full of magnanimity, soberness, and martial skill: but the truth is, that in this battle and whole business the Britains never more plainly manifested themselves to be right Barbarians; no rule, no foresight, no forecast, experience, or estimation, either of themselves, or of their enemies; such confusion, such impotence, as seemed likeliest not to a war, but to the wild hurry of a distracted woman, with as mad a crew at her heels. Therefore Suetonius, condemning their unruly noises and fierce looks, heartens his men but to stand close a while, and strike manfully this headless rabble that stood nearest, the rest would be a purchase rather than a toil. And so it fell out; for the legion, when they saw their time, bursting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and dissipated what opposed them; all else held only out their necks to the slayer; for their own carts and waggon were so placed by themselves, as left them but little room to escape between. The Romans slew all; men, women, and the very drawing-horses lay heaped along the field in a gory mixture of slaughter. About fourscore thousand Britains are said to have been slain on the place; of the enemy scarce four hundred, and not many more wounded. Boadicea poisoned herself, or, as others say, sickened and died. \*She was of stature big and tall, of visage grim and stern, harsh of voice, her hair of a bright colour flowing down to her hips; she wore a plighted garment of divers colours with a great golden chain; buttoned over all a thick robe. Gildas calls her the crafty lioness, and leaves an ill fame

Death of Boadicea.

\* Dion.

upon her doings. Dion sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficulty, nor without intention of the Britains to give another battle, had not the death of Boadicea come between. Howbeit Suetonius, to preserve discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of war, lodged with all the army in the open field; which was supplied out of Germany with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot; thence dispersed to winter, and with incursions to waste those countries that stood out. But to the Britains, famine was a worse affliction; having left off, during this uproar, to till the ground, and made reckoning to serve themselves on the provisions of their enemy. Nevertheless those nations that were yet untamed, hearing of some discord risen between Suetonius and the new procurator Classicianus, were brought but slowly to terms of peace; and the rigour used by Suetonius on them that yielded, taught them the better course to stand on their defence\*. For it is certain that Suetonius, though else a worthy man, over-proud of his victory, gave too much way to his anger against the Britains. Classician, therefore, sending such word to Rome, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless war, Polycletus, no Roman, but a courtier, was sent by Nero to examine how things went. He, admonishing Suetonius to use more mildness, awed the army, and to the Britains gave matter of laughter. Who so much, even till then, were nursed-up in their native liberty, as to wonder that so great a General with his whole army should be at the rebuke and ordering of a court-servitor. But Suetonius a while after, having lost a few galleys on the shore, was bid resign his command to Petronius Turpilianus, who, not provoking the Britains, nor by them provoked, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of ease and sloth. Trebellius Maximus followed his steps, usurping the name of gentle government to any remissness or neglect of discipline; which brought-in first licence, next disobedience, into his camp; incensed against him partly for his covetous-

Suetonius is recalled, and succeeded by Petronius Turpilianus; and he by Trebellius Maximus.

\* Tacit. vit. Agric.

ness, partly by the incitement of Roscius Cælius, legate of a legion; with whom formerly disagreeing, now that civil war began in the empire, he fell to open discord\*; charging him with disorder and sedition, and him Cælius with peeling and defrauding the legions of their pay; insomuch that Trebellius hated and deserted of the soldiers, was content awhile to govern by base entreaty, and forced at length to fly the land. Which, notwithstanding remained in good quiet, governed by Cælius and the other legate of a legion, both faithful to Vitellius, then emperor; who sent hither Vectius Bolanus; under whose lenity, though not tainted with other fault, against the Britains nothing was done, nor in their own discipline reformed†. Petilius Cerealis, by appointment of Vespasian, succeeding, had to do with the populous Brigantes in many battles and some of those not unbloody. For, as we heard before, it‡ was Venusius who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquished, and some part of his country not so much as reached. It appears also by several passages in the histories of Tacitus§, that no small matter of British forces were commanded over sea the year before to serve in those bloody wars between Otho and Vitellius, Vitellius and Vespasian, contending for the empire. To Cerealis succeeded Julius Frontinus in the government of Britain||, who by taming the Silures, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting augmented much his reputation. But Julius Agricola, whom Vespasian in his last year sent hither, trained up from his youth in the British wars, extended with victories the Roman limit beyond all his predecessors. His coming was in the midst of summer: and the Ordovices to welcome the new General had hewn in pieces a whole squadron of horse which lay upon their bounds, few escaping. Agricola, who perceived that the noise of this defeat had also in the province, desirous of novelty, stirred-up new expectations resolves to be beforehand with the

Roscius Cælius.

Vectius Bolanus.

Petilius Cerealis.

Julius Frontinus.

Julius Agricola.

\* Tac. hist. 1. 1. & vit. Agric. Anno post Christ. 69. † Tacit. hist. 2. & vit. Agric. ‡ Calvis. § Tacit. hist. 3. & vit. Agric. || Post. Christ. 79.

danger :

Agricola compleats  
the conquest of the  
Isle of Mona, or An-  
glesey.

His wise and upright  
conduct.

danger : and drawing-together the choice of his legions; with a competent number of German auxiliaries, not being met by the Ordovices, who kept the hills, himself in the head of his men, hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final extirpation of that whole nation. With the same current of success, what Paulinus had left unfinished he conquers in the isle of Mona: for the islanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom they knew to have no shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the auxiliaries, whose country-use had taught them to swim over with horse and arms, were compelled to yield. This gained Agricola much opinion: who at his very entrance, (a time which others bestowed of course in hearing compliments and gratulations,) had made such early progress into laborious and hardest enterprises. But by far not so famous was Agricola in bringing war to a speedy end, as in cutting-off the causes from whence war arises. For he, knowing that the end of war was not to make way for injuries in peace, began reformation from his own house; permitted not his attendants and followers to sway, or have to do at all, in public affairs: lays-on with equality the proportions of corn and tribute that were imposed; takes-off exactions, and the fees of encroaching officers, heavier than the tribute itself. For the countries had been compelled before, to sit and wait the opening of the public granaries and both to sell and to buy their corn at what rate the publicans thought fit; the purveyors also commanding when they pleased to bring it in, not to the nearest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excused, or by causing a dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These grievances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into some credit; which before, since the Romans coming, had as ill a name as war.

The summer following, Titus, being then emperor\*, he so continually with inroads disquieted the enemy over all the isle, and, after terrour, so allured them with his gentle demeanour, that many cities which till

\* Post Christ. 80.

that



that time would not bend, gave hostages, admitted garriſons, and came in voluntarily. The winter he ſpent all in worthy actions; teaching and promoting, like a public father, the inſtitutes and cuſtoms of civil life. The inhabitants, rude and ſcattered, and by that the proner to war, he ſo perſuaded to build houſes, temples, and ſeats of juſtice; and, by praiſing the forward, quickening the ſlow, aſſiſting all, turned the name of neceſſity into an emulation. He cauſed moreover the noblemen's ſons to be bred-up in liberal arts; and by preferring the wits of Britain before the ſtudies of Gallia, brought them to affect the Latin eloquence, who before hated the language. Then were the Roman faſhions imitated, and the gown; after a while the incitements alſo and materials of vice, and voluptuous life, proud buildings, baths, and the elegance of banquetting; which the fooliſher ſort called civility, but was indeed a ſecret art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the field; and with a prosperous expedition waſted as far northward as the frith of Taus, the countries of all that obeyed not, with ſuch a terrour, as he went, that the Roman army, though much hindered by tempeſtuous weather, had the leiſure to build forts and caſtles where they pleaſed; none daring to oppoſe them. Beides Agricola had this excellence in him, ſo providently to chooſe his places where to fortify, as not another General then alive. No ſcönce, or fortreſs, of his raiſing was ever known either to have been forced; or yielded-up, or quitted. Out of theſe, impregnable by ſiege, or in that caſe duly relieved, with continual irruptions he ſo prevailed, that the enemy, whoſe manner was in winter to regain what in ſummer he had loſt, was now alike in both ſeaſons kept ſhort and ſtreightened. For theſe exploits, then eſteemed ſo great and honourable; Titus, in whoſe reign they were atchieved, was for the fifteenth time, ſaluted *imperator*\*; and of him Agricola received triumphal honours.

The fourth ſummer, Domitian then ruling the empire; he ſpent in ſettling and confirming what the year before he had travelled over with a running conqueſt. And; had the valour of his ſoldiers been answerable, he would

\* Dion. l. 66. Poſt Chriſt. 82.

have reached that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of Britain. For Glota and Bodotria. (now Dunbritton, and the frith of Edinburgh,) two opposite arms of the sea, divided only by a neck of land, and all the creeks and inlets on this side, were held by the Romans, and the enemy was driven, as it were, into another island.

In his fifth year \* he passed-over into the Orcades, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch isles; discovering and subduing nations, till then unknown. He gained also with his forces that part of Britain which faces Ireland, as aiming also to conquer that island; where one of the Irish kings, driven-out by civil wars, coming to him, he both gladly received and retained him as against a fit time. The summer ensuing, on a mistrust that the nations beyond Bodotria would generally rise, and forelay the passages by land, he caused his fleet, making a great show, to bear along the coast, and up the friths and harbours; joining most commonly at night on the same shore both land and sea-forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight where-of the Britains, not wont to see their sea so ridden, were much daunted. Howbeit the Caledonians†, with great preparation, and by rumour, as of things unknown much greater, taking arms, and of their own accord beginning war by the assault of sundry castles, sent-back some of their fear to the Romans themselves: and there were of the commanders, who, cloaking their fear under show of sage advice, counselled the General to retreat back on this side Bodotria. He, in the mean while having intelligence, that the enemy would fall on him in many bodies, divided also his army into three parts. Which advantage the Britains quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoined, assail by night with all their forces that part of the Roman army which they knew to be the weakest; and, breaking-in upon the camp, surprised between sleep and fear, had begun some execution: When Agricola, who had learn'd what way the enemies took, and followed them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his horse and foot to charge them behind, the rest, as they came-on, to affright

\* Post Christ. 83.

† Post Christ. 84.

them with clamour, so plied them without respite, that by the approach of day, the Roman Ensign glittering all about, had encompassed the Britains; who now, after a sharp fight in the very ports of the camp, betook them to their wonted refuge, the woods and fens. pursued a while by the Romans; that day else in all appearance had ended the war. The legions re-encouraged by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembled, cry all to be led on as far as there was British ground. The Britains also, not acknowledging the loss of that day to have been due to the Roman valour, but to the policy of their captain, abated nothing of their stoutness; but, arming their youth, conveying their wives and children to places of safety, in frequent assemblies, and by solemn covenants, bound themselves to mutual assistance against the common enemy. About the same time a cohort of Germans, having slain their centurion with other Roman officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment, fled on ship-board, launched-forth in three light galleys without pilot\*; and by tide or weather carried round about the coast, using piracy where they landed, while their ships held-out, and as their skill served them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the Romans that Britain was an island†.

The first discovery that Britain was an island.

The following summer, Agricola having before sent his navy to hover on the coast, and with sundry and uncertain landings to divert and disunite the Britains, himself, with a power best appointed for expedition, wherein also were many Britains, whom he had long tried, both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the mountain Grampius, where the Britains, to the number of above thirty thousand, were now lodged, and still increasing; for neither would their old men, so many as were yet vigorous and lusty, be left at home, long practised in war, and every one adorned with some badge, or cognizance of his warlike deeds long ago. Of whom Galgacus, both by birth and merit the prime leader to their courage, though of itself hot and violent, is by his rough oratory, in detestation of servitude and the Roman yoke, said to have added much more eagerness of fight, testi-

\* Dion. l. 66.

† Post Christ. 85.

The Romans, under Agricola, defeat the Britains of Caledonia under Galgacus, in a great battle A. D. 85.

fied by their shouts and barbarous applauses. As much did on the other side Agricola exhort his soldiers to victory and glory; as much the soldiers, by his firm and well-grounded exhortations, were all on a fire to the onset. But, first, he orders them on this sort: Of eight thousand auxiliary foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings three thousand horse, the legions as a reserve, stood in array before the camp; either to seize the victory won without their own hazard, or to keep-up the battle if it should need. The British powers on the hill side, as might best serve for show and terror, stood in their battalions; the first on even ground, the next rising behind, as the hill ascended. The field between rung with the noise of horsemen and chariots ranging up and down. Agricola, doubting to be overwinded, stretches out his front, though somewhat with the thinnest, inso-much that many advised to bring-up the legions: yet he not altering, alights from his horse, and stands on foot before the ensigns. The fight began aloof, and the Britains had a certain skill, with their broad swashing swords and short bucklers, either to strike aside, or to bear-off the darts of their enemies; and withal to send-back showers of their own. Until Agricola, discerning that those little targets and unweildy glaves ill-pointed, would soon become ridiculous against the thrust and close, commanded three Batavian cohorts, and two of the Tungrians exercised, and armed for close fight, to draw-up and come to handy strokes. The Batavians, as they were commanded, running-in upon them, now with their long tucks thrusting at the face, now with their piked targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that stood below; and, for haste omitting further execution, began apace to advance up hill, seconded now by all the other cohorts. Mean-while the horsemen fly, the charioteers mix themselves to fight among the foot, where many of their horse also fallen-in disorderly, were now more a mischief to their own, than before a terror to their enemies. The battle was a confused heap, the ground unequal; men, horses, chariots crowded pell-mell; sometimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, rushing, felling, overbearing, overturning. They on  
the

the hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceiving the fewness of their enemies, came-down again; and had enclosed the Romans unawares behind, but that Agricola with a strong body of horse, which he reserved for such a purpose, repelled them back as fast; and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel-about and charge them on the backs. Then were the Romans clearly masters: they follow, they wound they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the Britains, in whole troops with weapons in their hands, one while fleeing the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the woods to their shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turned and slew, the rest so hampered, as had not Agricola, who was every where at hand, sent-out his readiest cohorts, with a part of his horse to alight and scour the woods: they had received a foil in the midst of victory; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the Britains fled again, and were totally scattered; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day ten thousand fell; of the Romans three hundred and forty, among whom Aulus Atticus, the leader of a cohort: carried with heat of youth, and the fierceness of his horse too far on. The Romans, jocund of this victory, and the spoil they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandering about the field, both men and women, some lamenting, some calling their lost friends, or carrying-off their wounded; others forsaking, some burning their own houses; and it was certain enough, that there were yho, with a stern compassion, laid violent hands on their wives and children, to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injury. Next day appearing, manifested more plainly the greatness of their loss received; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afar off, not a man seen, all fled, and doubtful whither: such word the scouts bringing in from all parts, and the summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a war, the Roman General leads his army among the Horestians; by whom hostages being given, he commands his Admiral, with a sufficient navy, to sail round the coast of Britain; himself with slow marches,



marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new-conquered nations. bestows his army in their winter-quarters. The fleet also, having fetched a prosperous and speedy compass about the isle, put in at the haven *Trutulensis*. (now *Richburgh* near *Sandwich*,) from whence it first set-out\*: and now likeliest, if not two years before, as was mentioned, the Romans might discover and subdue the isles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason, following† *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame: with *Domitian*, under whom great virtue was as punishable as open crime, won him hatred‡. For he, maligning the renown of these his acts, in show decreed him honours, in secret devised his ruin. § *Agricola* therefore, commanded home for doing too much of what he was sent to do, left the province to his successor quiet and secure.

Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lucullus*, or before him some other, for *Suetonius* only names him legate of *Britain* under *Domitian*; but further of him, or aught else done here until the time of *Hadrian* is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a preface in *Tacitus* to the book of his histories, that what *Agricola* won here, was soon after by *Domitian*, either through want of valour lost, or through envy neglected. And *Juvenal*, the poet, speaks of *Arviragus* in these days, and not before, king of *Britain*; who stood so well in his resistance, as not only to be talked of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious triumph, if *Domitian* could take him captive, or overcome him. Then also *Claudia Rufina*, the daughter of a *Britain*, and wife of *Pudence* a Roman senator, lived at *Rome*, famous by the verse of *Martial* for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of *Britain*, is, that when *Trajan* was emperor, it revolted, and was subdued. But *Hadrian* next entering on the empire||, they soon unsubdued themselves. *Julius Severus*, saith *Dion*, then governed the island, a prime soldier of that age: he being called-away to suppress the Jews then in tumult,

\* *Camden*. *Juven.* sat. 2.  
‡ *Post Christ.* 80.

† *Eutrop.* l. 7. ‡ *Dion.* l. 60.  
|| *Spartianus* in vit. *Hadrian.*

left

*Arviragus.*

*Trajan.*  
*Hadrian.*

left things at such a pass, as caused the emperor in person to take a journey hither\*; where many things he reformed, and as Augustus and Tiberius counselled, to confine the empire within moderate bounds, he raised a wall with great stakes driven in deep, and fastened together, in manner of a strong mound, fourscore miles in length, to divide what was Roman from what was Barbarian; as his manner was to do in other frontiers of his empire, where great rivers divided not the limits. No ancient author names the situation of this wall; but old inscriptions, and the ruin itself yet testifies where it went along between Solway-frith by Carlisle, and the mouth of the river Tine†. Hadrian having quieted the island, took it for honour to be titled on his coin, “The restorer of Britain.” In his time also Priscus Licinius, as appears by an old inscription, was lieutenant here. Antoninus Pius reigning‡, the Brigantes, ever least patient of foreign domination, breaking in upon Genounia (which Camden guesses to be Guinethia or North Wales) part of the Roman province, were, with the loss of much territory, driven back by Lollius Urbicus, who drew another wall of turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and, as Camden proves, between the frith of Dunbritton, and of Edinburgh; to hedge-out incursions from the North. And Seius Saturninus, as is collected from the digests§, had charge here of the Roman navy. With like success did Marcus Aurelius||, the next emperor, by his legate Calphurnius Agricola, finish here a new war: Commodus after him obtaining the empire.

A boundary-wall built by the Emperor Hadrian from Carlisle to Newcastle.

Priscus Licinius.  
Antoninus Pius.

Lollius Urbicus.

Another boundary-wall, more northerly than the former, was built in the reign of Antoninus Pius.

Marcus Aurelius.

The state of Britain in the reign of the Emperor Commodus.

In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, ¶ Lucius, a supposed king in some part of Britain, was the first of any king in Europe, that we read of, that received the Christian faith, and this nation the first that by public authority professed it: a high and singular grace from above, if sincerity and perseverance went along; otherwise an empty boast, and to be feared the verifying of that true sentence, “The first shall be last.” And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to king Lucius, than common to the nation; whose first

\* Post Christ. 122. Spartianus ibid:

† Cap. vit. Ant. Post Christ. 144.

‡ Beda.

† Camden. . . † Pausan. archad.

|| Post Christ. 162. Digest. l. 36.

professing by public authority was no real commendation of their true faith, which had appeared more sincere and praise-worthy, whether in this or any other nation if it had been first professed without public authority or against it, as it might else have been but outward conformity. Lucius in our Monmouth story is made the second by descent from Marius; Marius, the son of Arviragus, is there said to have over-thrown the Picts then first coming out of Scythia, and to have slain Roderic their king; and in sign of victory to have set up a monument of stone in the country since called Westmaria: but these things have no foundation. Coilus the son of Marius, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the Romans, left it hereditary to Lucius. He (if Beda err not, living near five hundred years after, yet our ancientest author of this report) sent to Elentherius, then bishop of Rome\*, an improbable letter, as some of the contents discover, desiring that, by his appointment, he and his people might receive Christianity. From whom two religious doctors, named in our chronicles Faganus and Deruvianus, being forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptized well nigh the whole nation†: thence Lucius to have had the surname of Levermaur; that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian faith here known, but even from the latter days of Tiberius, as Gildas confidently affirms, had been taught and propagated, and that, as some say, by Simon Zeloteas; as others say, by Joseph of Arimathea, Barnabas, Paul, Peter, and their prime disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believed, Ecclesiastical historians can best determine; as the best of them do, with little credit given to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for Lucius, they write‡, that, after a long reign, he was buried in Gloucester; but, dying without issue, left the kingdom in great commotion. By truer testimony§ we find that the greatest war which in those days busied Commodus, was in this island. For the nations northward, notwithstanding the wall raised to keep them out, breaking in upon the Roman province, wasted wide; and both the army and the leader that came against them

\* Post Christ. 181.

† Nennius,

‡ Gell. Mon.

§ Dion. l. 72.

wholly

wholly routed, and destroyed; which put the emperor in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best commanders, Ulpius Marcellus \*. He, a man endowed with all nobleness of mind, frugal and temperate, mild and magnanimous, in war bold and watchful, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes; what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this war that looked so dangerous, and had himself like to been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an emperor. † After whose departure the Roman legions fell to sedition among themselves; fifteen hundred of them went to Rome in the name of the rest, and were so terrible to Commodus himself, as that, to please them, he delivered-up to their care Perennis the captain of his guard, for having in the British war removed their leaders, who were senators, and in their places put those of the equestrian order; Notwithstanding which compliance, they endeavoured here to set-up another emperor against him; and Helvius Pertinax ‡, who succeeded as governour, found it a work so difficult to appease them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many slain; and, though afterwards he severely punished the tumulters, was fain at length to seek a dismissal from his charge. After him Claudius Albinus § took the government; but he, for having to the soldiers made an oration against monarchy, by the appointment of Commodus was bid to resign to Junius Severus ||. But Albinus, in those troublesome times ensuing under the short reign of Pertinax and Didius Julianus ¶, found means to keep in his hands the government of Britain; although Septimius Severus \*\*, who next held the empire, sent hither Heraclitus to displace him; but in vain: for Albinus, with all the British powers and those of Gallia, met Severus about Lyons in France ††, and fought a bloody battle with him for the empire, though he was at last vanquished and slain. The go-

Ulpius Marcellus is made Governour of Britain.

Helvius Pertinax.

Claudius Albinus.

\* Post Christ. 183.

† Lamprid. in comm. Post Christ. 186.

‡ Capitolin. in Pert.

§ Capitolin. in Alb.

¶ Post Christ. 193.

|| Dion. Did. Jul.

\*\* Spartian. in Sever.

†† Herod. l. 3.



Of the state of Britain  
in the reign of the  
Emperour Septimius  
Severus.

vernment of Britain \* Severus divided between two deputies ; (till then one legate was thought sufficient ;) the north he committed to Virius Lupus. † Where the Meatae rising in arms, and the Caledonians, (though they had promised the contrary to Lupus ‡,) preparing to defend them. he was so hard beset, that he was compelled to buy his peace, and a few prisoners, with great sums of money. But hearing that Severus had now brought to an end his other wars, he writes him plainly the state of things here §, “ that the Britons of the North made war upon him, broke into the province, and harrassed all the countries nigh them, so that there needed suddenly either more aid, or the authority of Severus himself in person.” Severus, though now much weakened with age and the gout, yet desirous to leave some memorial of his warlike achievements here, (as he had done in other places,) and hoping also to withdraw by this means his two sons from the pleasures of Rome, and his soldiers from idleness, sets-out with a mighty power, and, far sooner than could be expected, arrives in Britain. || The Northern people, much daunted with the report of so great forces brought-over with him, and yet more preparing, send ambassadors to treat of peace, and to excuse their former doings. The Emperor now loth to return home without some memorable thing done, whereby he might assume to his other titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his answer, and quickens his preparations ; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismissed without effect. His principal care was to have many bridges laid over bogs and rotten moors, that his soldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems, through lack of tillage, the northern parts were then, as Ireland is at this day ; and the inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watery places half-naked. He also, being past Adrian’s wall ¶, cut-down woods, made ways through hills, fastened and filled-up, unsound and plashy fens. Notwithstanding all this industry used, the enemy kept himself so cunningly within his best

\* Herod. l. 8. † Digest, l. 28. tit. 6. ‡ Dion. c. § Herod. l. 3. = § Post Christ. 203. ¶ Post Christ. 209.



advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruptions upon the Romans, when they were most in straits and difficulties, sometimes training them on with a few cattle turned-out, and, when drawn within ambush, cruelly handling them, so that many a time, when they were enclosed in the midst of sloughs and quagmires, they chose rather themselves to kill such as were faint and could not shift-away, than to leave them there a prey to the Caledonians \*. Thus lost Severus, and by sickness in those noisome places, no less than fifty thousand men: and yet desisted not, though for weakness carried in a litter, till he had marched through with his army to the utmost northern verge of the isle: and the Britains offering peace, were compelled to lose much of their country which had not before been subject to the Roman†. Severus, on the frontiers of what he had firmly conquered, builds a wall cross the island from sea to sea; which one author judges the most magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence received the style of *Britannicus*‡; in length a hundred and thirty two miles. Orosius adds it fortified with a deep trench, and between certain spaces many towers, or battlements. The place whereof some will have to be in Scotland, the same which Lollius Urbicus had walled before. § Others affirm it only Hadrian's work re-edified; both plead authorities and the ancient track yet visible: but this I leave among the studions of these antiquities to be discussed more at large. While peace held, the empress Julia meeting on a time certain British Ladies, and discoursing with the wife of Argentocoxus a Caledonian, cast-out a scoff against the looseness of our island women; whose manner then was to use promiscuously the company of divers men. Whom straight the British women boldly thus answered; "Much better do we Britains fulfil the work of nature than you Romans; we with the best men accustom openly; you with the basest commit private adulteries." Whether she thought this answer might serve to justify the practice of her country, as when vices are compared, the greater seems to justify the less;

He builds a wall across the Island to defend the Roman part of Britain, against the Caledonians. A. D. 210.

\* Dion. † Post Christ. 210. Spartianus in Sever. ‡ Eutropii Pean. Oros. l. 7. Cassid. Chro. § Buchanan.

or whether the law and custom wherein she was bred, had whipp'd out of her conscience the better dictate of nature, and not convinced her of the shame; certain it is, that whereas other nations used a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many wives, the Britains \* altogether as licentious, but more absurd and preposterous in their license, had one or many wives in common among ten or twelve husbands; and those for the most part incestuously. But no sooner was Severus returned into the province, than the Britains take arms again. Against whom Severus, worn-out with labours and infirmity, sends Antoninus, his eldest son, expressly commanding him to spare neither sex nor age. But Antoninus, who had his wicked thoughts taken-up with the contriving of his father's death, a safer enemy than a son, did the Britains not much detriment. Whereat Severus, more overcome with grief than any other malady, ended his life at York †. After whose decease Antoninus Caracalla, his impious son, concluding peace with the Britains, took hostages and departed to Rome. The conductor of all this northern war Scottish writers name Donaldus, he of Monmouth Fulgenius, in the rest of his relation nothing worth. From hence the Roman empire declining apace, good historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing.

Under Gordian the emperor we find, by the inscription ‡ of an altar stone, that Nonius Philippus governed here.

Under Galienus we read there was a strong and general revolt from the Roman legate. Of the thirty tyrants which not long after took upon them the style of emperor §, by many coins found among us, Lollianus, Victorinus, Posthumus, the Tetrici, and Marius are conjectured to have risen, or born great sway, in this island ||. Whence Porphyrius, a philosopher then living, said that Britain was a soil fruitful of tyrants; and is noted to be the first author that makes mention of the Scottish nation. While Probus was emperor \*, Bonofus, the son of the rhetorician, bred-up a Spaniard, though by descent

\* Cæsar. † Post Christ. 211. Spartianus in Sever. ‡ Post Christ. 242. Camd. Cumber. § Post Christ. 259. Eumen. Paneg. Const. || Post Christ. 267. Camden. Gildas. Hieronym.

Death of the Emperor  
Severus at York. A. D.  
211.

The first mention  
made of the Scottish  
nation. A. D. 286.

a Britain, and a matchless drinker; nor much to be blamed, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups: having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the German shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his power with the western armies, and joined with Proculus, bore himself a while for emperor; but after a long and bloody fight at Cullen, vanquished by Probus, he hanged himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking: "Here hangs a tankard, not a man," After this \*, Probus with much wisdom prevented a new rising here in Britain by the severe loyalty of Victorinus a Moor, at whose enreaty he had placed here that governor which rebelled. For, the emperor upbraiding him with the disloyalty of the man whom he had commended, Victorinus, undertaking to set all right again, hastes thither, and finding indeed the governor to intend sedition, by some contrivance not mentioned in the story, slew him, whose name † some imagine to be Cornelius Lelianus. They write also that Probus gave leave to the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britains to plant vines, and to make wine; and having subdued the Vandals and Burgundians in a great battle ‡, sent over many of them hither to inhabit, where they did good service to the Romans, when any insurrection happened in the isle. After whom Carus, emperor, going against the Persians, left Carinus §, one of his sons, to govern, among other western provinces, this island, with Imperial authority; but him Dioclesian, saluted emperor by the eastern armies, overcame and slew. About which time Carausius ||, a man of low parentage, born in Menapia, about the parts of Cleves and Juliers, who, passing through all military degrees, was made at length Admiral of the Belgic and Armoric seas, then much infested by the Franks and Saxons. What he took from the pirates, he neither restored to the owners nor accounted for it to the public, but enriched himself therewith; and yet not scouring the seas, but conniving rather at those sea-robbers, he was grown at length too great a delin-

Of the Roman emperor Probus.

The Emperor Carus.

The Emperor Diocletian.  
Of Carausius.

\* Zozim. l. 1. in Carin.

† Camd.

‡ Zozimus.

§ Post Christ. 280. Vopisc.

|| Post Christ 284. Aurel, Victor, de Cesar,

quent to be less than an emperor \* ; (for fear and guiltiness in those days made emperors oftener than merit :) and understanding that Maximilianus Hercules †, Dioclesian's adopted son, was come against him into Gallia, passed over, with the navy, which he had made his own, into Britain, and possessed the island. There he built a new ‡ fleet after the Roman fashion, got into his power the legion that was left there in garrison, and detained there other outlandish cohorts, and listed the very merchants and factors of Gallia, and with the allurements of spoil invited great numbers of other barbarous nations to his part, and trained them to the sea-service, wherein the Romans at that time were grown so out of skill, that Carausius with his navy did at sea what he listed, robbing on every coast; whereby Maximilian, being able to come no nearer than the shore of Boloigne, was forced to conclude a peace with Carausius, and yield him Britain § ; as one fittest to guard the province there against inroads from the North. But, not long after, Maximilian ||, having assumed Constantius Chlorus to the dignity of Cæsar, sent him against Carausius; who in the mean while had made himself strong both within the land and without ¶. Galfred of Monmouth writes, that he made the Picts his confederates; to whom, lately come out of Scythia, he gave Albany to dwell in: and it is observed, that before his time the Picts are not known to have been any where mentioned, and then first by Eumenius, a rhetorician \*\*. He repaired and fortified the wall of Severus with seven castles, and a round house of smooth stone on the bank of Carron, which river, saith Ninnius, was of his name so called; he built also a triumphal arch in remembrance of some victory there obtained ††. In France he held Gessoriacum, or Bolloigne; and all the Franks, which had by his permission seated themselves in Belgia, were at his devotion. But Constantius hasting into Gallia, besieges Boloigne, and, with stones and timber obstructing the port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by Carausius. Who, ere Constantius, with the great fleet

Constantius Chlorus  
is sent to make war  
on Carausius.

The first mention  
made of the Picts.  
A. D. 286.

\* Post Christ. 285. Eutrop. Oros. . . † Eumen. Paneg. 2. . . ‡ Post Christ. 246. . . § Victor. Eutrop. . . || Post Christ. 291. . . ¶ Buchanan. . . \*\* Paneg. 2. . . †† Paneg. Sigonius. ¶

which



which he had prepared, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously\* by Alectus, one of his friends, who longed to step into his place; when he, during seven years, and worthily as some say, as others, tyrannically, had ruled the island. So much the more did Constantius prosecute that opportunity. before Alectus could well strengthen his affairs †: and, though in ill weather, putting to sea with all urgency from several havens to spread the terror of his landing. and the doubt where to expect him, in a mist passing the British fleet unseen, that lay scouting near the isle of Wight, no sooner got ashore, but he fires his own ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in victory. Alectus also, though now much dismayed, transfers his fortune to a battle on the shore; but encountered by Asclepiodotus, captain of the prætorian bands, and desperately rushing-on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the Romans but great execution on the Franks. His body was found almost naked in the field: for the purple robe he had thrown aside, lest it should dis-cry him unwilling to be found. The rest taking flight to London, and purposing with the pillage of that city to escape by sea, are met by another part of the Roman army, whom the mist at sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new slaughter chased through all the streets. The Britains, their wives also and children with great joy went out to meet Constantius, as one whom they acknowledge to be their deliverer from bondage and insolence. All this seems by the account given of it by Eumenius ‡, (who was living at that time, and was of Constantius's household,) to have been done in the course of one continued action; so also thinks Sigonius, a learned writer: though all others allow three years to the tyranny of Alectus. In these days were great store of workmen, and excellent builders in this island, whom, after the alteration of things here, the Æduans in Burgundy entertained to build their temples, and public edifices.

\* Dioclesian having hitherto successfully used his valour

† Post Christ. 292. ‡ Cæd. ex Nin. Eumén. Pan. 9. Orō. l. 7. c. 25.

‡ Eumen.

against

Death of Carausius by the treachery of his friend Alectus.

Constantius prosecutes the war against Alectus, who is defeated and slain in a battle in Britain.

Constantius Chlorus is received by the Britains with great joy as their deliverer from bondage.

Of the Persecution of the Christians in Britain in the reign of the Emperour Diocletian.



against the enemies of his empire, uses now his rage in a bloody persecution against his obedient and harmless Christian subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this island, though most remote, far enough removed \*. Among them here who suffered gloriously, Aron, and Julius of Caerleon upon Usk, but chiefly Alban of Verulam, were most renowned; the story of whose martyrdom (soiled, and worse martyred with the fabling zeal of some idle fanciers, more fond of miracles, than apprehensive of truth,) deserves not longer digression. Constantius, after Dioclesian, dividing the empire with Galerius, had Britain among his other provinces; where either preparing for, or returning with, a victory, from an expedition against the Caledonians, he died at York †. His son Constantine, who happily came post from Rome to Boloigne, just about the time, saith Eumenius, that his father was setting sail his last time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed named, and after his funeral, by the whole army saluted emperor. There goes a fame, and that seconded by most of our own historians, (though not those the ancientest,) that Constantine was born in this island, and that his mother Helena, was the daughter of Coilus a British Prince. But this prince Coilus could not, surely, be Coilus, the father of king Lucius, whose sister she must then be: for that would make her be too old by a hundred years to be the mother of Constantine. But to salve this incoherence, another Coilus is feigned to be then earl of Colchester. To this therefore the Roman authors gave no testimony, except a passage or two in the Panegyrics, about the sense whereof much is argued: other writers, who lived ‡ nearest to those times, clear the doubt; and write him certainly born of a mean woman, Helena, the concubine of Constantius, at Naisus in Dardania. § Howbeit, ere his departure hence, he seems to have had some bickerings in the North, which, by reason of more urgent affairs, being amicably composed, he passes into Gallia; and, after four years, returns either to settle or to alter the state of things here, until a new war against

Constantius Chlorus.

Constantine the Great is made Emperor of Rome. A. D. 306.

He was a natural son of Constantius Chlorus, by a woman named Helena.

\* Gildas. † Author. ign. post Marcellin. Valesii. Post Christ. 306. Eutrop. Eumen. idem. Auth. ignot. ‡ Idem vit. Auth. ignot. Euseb. Const. Oros. l. 7. 25 cap. Cass. Chron. § Post Christ. 307. Sigon.

Maxentius

Maxentius called him back, leaving Pacatianus his vicegerent. \*He deceasing, Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed, for his part of the empire, with all the provinces that lay on this side the Alps, this island also. † But falling to civil war with Constans his brother, was by him slain; who with his third brother Constantius coming into Britain, seized it as victor. Against him rose Magnentius ‡, one of his chief commanders, by some affirmed the son of a Britain, he having gained on his side great forces, contested with Constantius in many battles for the sole empire; but vanquished, in the end slew himself.

§ Somewhat before this time Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, afterwards emperor, had chief command of those armies which the Romans kept here.

|| And the Arian doctrine, which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this island no small disturbance; a land, saith Gildas, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last ¶ Constantius appointed a synod of more than four hundred bishops to assemble at Ariminum at the emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the British, poverty constraining them, accepted; though the other bishops among them offered to have born their charges; esteeming it more honourable to live on the public, than to be obnoxious to any private purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the presbyters of our age; who like well to sit in assembly on the public stipend, but liked not the poverty that caused these to do so. After this Martinus

was deputed of the province; who being offended with the cruelty which Paulus, an inquisitor sent from Constantius, exercised in his inquiry after those military officers who had conspired with Magnentius, was himself laid hold-on as an accessory: at which enraged he runs at Paulus with his drawn sword; but, failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be guessed, Alipius was made deputy. In the mean time Julian \*, whom Constantius had made Cæsar, having recovered

Gratianus Funarius is the Roman Governor of Britain. A. D. 350.

Contests among the Christians about the Arian doctrine.

A Synod of Bishops held at Ariminum. A. D. 359.

Martinus.

Alipius.

\* Post Christ. 311. Camd. Ammian. l. 20. & in cum Valesius.  
† Post Christ. 340. Libanius in Basilico. ‡ Post Christ. 343. Camb.  
ex Firmico. § Post Christ. 350. Camden. || Post Christ. 343. Camb.  
Ammian, ¶ Post Christ. 359.

much

much territory about the Rhine, where the German inroads before had long insulted, to relieve those countries almost ruined, causes eight hundred pinnaces to be built; and with them, by frequent voyages, plenty of corn to be fetched-in from Britain; which even then was the usual bounty of this soil to those parts, as oft as French and Saxon pirates hindered not the transportation \*. While † Constantius yet reigned, the Scots and Picts breaking upon the northern confines, Julian, being at Paris, sends over Lupicinus, a well-tryed soldier, but a proud and covetous man, who with a power of light-armed Herulians, Batavians, and Massians, in the midst of winter sailing from Boloigne, arrives at Rutupiae, seated on the opposite shore, and comes to London, to consult there about the war; but soon after was recalled by Julian, then chosen emperor. Under whom we read not of aught happening here, only that Palladius, one of his great officers, was hither banished. ‡ This year Valentinian being emperor, the Anticots, Picts, and Scots, roving up and down, and, last, the Saxons, with perpetual landings and invasions harried the south coast of Britain; slew Nectaridius who governed the sea-borders, and Bulchobaudes with his forces, by an ambush. With which news Valentinian not a little perplexed, sends, first, Severus, high-steward of his house, and soon recalls him, and then Juvinus, who intimating the necessity of greatest supplies, he sent at length Theodosius, a man of tried valour and experience, father to the first emperor of that name. He §, with selected numbers out of the legions and cohorts, crosses the sea from Boloigne to Rutupiae; from whence with the Batavians, Herulians, and other legions that arrived soon after, he marches to London; and dividing his forces into several bodies, sets upon the dispersed and plundering enemy, laden with spoil; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forced to leave there with their lives, he restores all to the right owners, save a small portion to his wearied soldiers, and enters London vic-

Lupicinus.

Julian is made Emperor.

Valentinian Emperor.

Theodosius is made Governour of Britain by the Emperor Valentinian. A. D. 367.

His Excellent conduct, and great success.

\* Liban. Or. 10. Coziri. l. 3. Marcel. l. 18. † Amm. l. 23.  
 ‡ Post Christ. 360. Amm. l. 20. § Post Christ. 364. Amm. l. 25, 27.  
 ¶ Post Christ. 367.

toriously;

toriously ; which, after having been for some time involved in many straits and difficulties, was now revived as with a great deliverance. The numerous enemy with whom he had to deal, was of different nations, and the war scattered: which Theodosius, getting daily some intelligence from fugitives and prisoners, resolves to carry-on by sudden parties and surprisals, rather than by set battles ; nor omits he to proclaim indemnity to such as would lay-down their arms, and accept of peace ; which brought-in many. Yet, all this not ending the work, he requires that Civilis, a man of much uprightness, might be sent him, to be as deputy of the island, and Dulcitus a famous captain. Thus was Theodosius busied, besetting with ambushes the roving enemy, repressing his inroads, restoring cities and castles to their former safety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long peace, when \* Valentinus a Pannonian, for some great offence banished into Britain, conspiring with certain exiles and soldiers against Theodosius, whose worth he dreaded as the only obstacle to his greater design of gaining the isle into his power, is discovered, and with his chief accomplices delivered over to condign punishment : against the rest, Theodosius with a wise lenity suffered not inquisition to proceed too rigorously, lest the fear thereof, appertaining to so many, occasion might arise of new trouble in a time so unsettled. This done, he applies himself to reform things out of order, raises on the confines many strong-holds ; and in them appoints due and diligent watches : and so reduced all things, out of danger, that the province, which but lately was under the command of the enemy, became now wholly Roman, and received the new name of Valentia from Valentinian, and the city of London, that of Augusta. Thus Theodosius nobly acquitting himself in all affairs, with general applause of the whole province, accompanied to the sea-side, returns to Valentinian. Who about five years after sent hither Fraomarius, a king of the Almans†, with the authority of a tribune over his own country forces ; which then, both for number and good service, were in high esteem. Against Gra-

Fraomarius.

\* Post Christ. 368. Amm. l. 28. Zozim. l. 4. + Post Christ. 373. Amm. l. 29.

tian,



Maximus, a commander of the Roman armies in Britain, defeats the Scots and Picts.

Maximus becomes for five years master of Gaul, or France, and gives the province of Armorica to a body of British soldiers in his army to be possessed and inhabited by them.

Chrysanthus.

Stilicho.

tion, who succeeded in the Western Empire, Maximus a Spaniard, and one who had served in the British wars with the younger \* Theodosius, (for he also, either with his father, or not long after him, seems to have done something in this island) and now general of the Roman armies here, either discontented that Theodosius was preferred before him to the empire, or constrained by the soldier who hated Gratian, assumes the imperial purple †; and having attained victory against the Scots and Picts, with the flower and strength of Britain passes into France; there slays Gratian, and without much difficulty, during the space of ‡ five years, obtains his part of the empire; but is overthrown at length, and slain by Theodosius. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of Armorica, which Maximus had given them to possess, the South of Britain by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of Roman soldiers on the confines drawn-off, became a prey to savage invasions §; of Scots from the Irish seas, of Saxons from the German, of Picts from the North. Against them first || Chrysanthus the son of Marcian a bishop, made deputy of Britain by Theodosius, demeaned himself worthily: then Stilicho, a man of great power, whom Theodosius dying left protector of his son Honorius, either came in person; or sending over sufficient aid, repressed them, and, as it seems, new-fortified the wall against them. But that legion being called-away, when the Roman armies from all parts hastened to relieve Honorius, ¶ then besieged in Asta of Piemont, by Alaric the Goth, Britain was left exposed, as before, to those barbarous robbers. Lest any wonder how the Scots came to infest Britain from the Irish sea, it must be understood, that the Scots, not many years before, had been driven all out of Britain by Maximus \*\*; and their king Eugenius slain in fight, as their own annals report: whereby, it seems that, wandering up and down, without any certain seat, they lived by scum-

\* Zozim. l. 4. Sigon. † Prot. Aquitannic. Chron. Post Christ. 383.

‡ Oidas: post Christ 393; Bedæ Ninn. § Post Christ: 389.

¶ Secrat. l. 7. Claudian de laud. Stil. l. 2. & de Bello Getico. || Post Christ: 402.

\*\* Ethelwerd, Sax: an. Bede epit. in the year 665; and Bede, l. 2. c. 4.



ning those seas and shores as pirates. But more authentic writers confirm us, that the Scots, (whoever they might be originally,) came first into Ireland, and dwelt there, and named it Scotia, long before the North of Britain took that name. \* Orosius, who lived at this time, writes, that Ireland was then inhabited by Scots. About this time †, though troublesome, Pelagius, in Britain, found the church, and is largely writ against by St. Austin. But the Roman powers which were called into Italy, when once the fear of Alaric was over, made return into several provinces; and perhaps Victorinus of Tolosa, (whom Ruilius, the poet, much commends,) might be then prefect of this island; if it were not he whom Silicho sent hither. Buchanan writes, that, endeavouring to reduce the Picts into a province, he gave the occasion of their calling-back Fergusius and the Scots, whom Maximus with their help had quite driven out of the island: and indeed the verses of that poet speak him to have been active in those parts. But the time which is assigned him later by Buchanan after Gratianus Municipis, by Camden after Constantine the tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the plain course of history. ‡ For, the Vandals having broke in and wasted all Belgia, even to those places from whence easiest passage is into Britain, the Roman forces here, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set-up Marcus, who, it may seem, was then deputy. But him, not found agreeable to their heady courses, they as hastily kill; for the giddy favour of a mutinying rout is as dangerous as their fury. The like they do by || Gratian a British Roman, in four months advanced, adored, and destroyed. There was among them a common soldier whose name was Constantine; with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of the luckiness in his name, as, without other visible merit, to create him emperor. It fortune that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use, of an unexpected

The people called Scots were settled in Ireland before they came into the northern part of Britain and called it *Scotland*.

A British common soldier named Constantine, is, on a sudden, chosen Emperor.

\* Oros. l. 1. c. 2. † Post Christ. 405. ‡ Post Christ. 407, Zozim. l. 6. § Sozom. l. 9. || Oros. l. 7.

He is assisted by Gerontius, a valiant Britain.

offer. He therefore with a weakened spirit, to the extent of his fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrank-up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the province, and what of British was able to bear arms, he passed into France, aspiring at least to an equal share with Honorius in the empire. Where, by the valour of Edobecus a Frank, and Gerontius a Britain, and partly by persuasion, gaining all in his way, he comes to Arles\*. With like felicity by his son Constans, (whom of a monk he had made a Cæsar,) and by the conduct of Gerontius, he reduces all Spain to his obedience. But, Constans, after this, displacing Gerontius, the affairs of Constantine soon went to wreck; for he, by this means alienated, set-up Maximus, one of his friends, against him in Spain†; and passing into France, took Vienna by assault, and having slain Constans in that city, calls-on the Vandals against Constantine; who (by him incited) breaking-forward, overrun most part of France. But when Constantius Comes, the emperor's general, with a strong power came out of Italy,‡ Gerontius, deserted by his own forces, retires into Spain; where also growing into contempt with the soldiers, after his flight out of France, by whom his house in the night was beset§, having first, with a few of his servants, defended himself valiantly, and slain above three hundred, though, when his darts and other weapons were spent, he might have escaped at a private door, as all his servants did, not enduring to leave his wife Nonnichia, whom he loved, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts-off the head of his friend Alanus, as was agreed; next his wife, though loth and delaying, yet by her entreated and importuned, refusing to outlive her husband, he dispatches: for which her resolution, Sozomenus, an ecclesiastic writer, gives her high praise, both as a wife, and as a christian. Last of all, against himself he turns his sword; but missing the mortal place, with his poniard finishes the work. Thus far is pursued the story of

The death of Gerontius.

\* Post Christ. 408.

† Post Christ. 409.

‡ Sozom. l. 9.

§ Olympiodor. apud Photium.

a famous Britain, related negligently by our other historians. As for Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting-out; for he, with his other son Julian, being besieged by Constantius in Arles, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns priest; but, that not availing him, is carried into Italy, and there put to death; having four years acted the emperor. While these things were doing\*, the Britains at home, destitute of Roman aid, and the chief strength of their own youth, (that went first with Maximus, then with Constantine.) not returning home, vexed and harrassed by their wonted enemies, had sent messages to Honorius; but he, at that time not being able to defend Rome itself, (which in the same year was taken by Alaric,) advises them by his letter to consult how best they might provide for their own safety, and acquits them of the Roman jurisdiction†. They therefore thus relinquished, and by all right the government relapsing into their own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after their own laws, defending their bounds as well as they were able; and the Armoricans, (who not long after were called *the Britains of France*,) followed their example. Thus expired this great Empire of the Romans; first, in Britain; and soon after, in Italy itself: having born chief sway in this island, (though never thoroughly subdued, or all at once in subjection,) if we reckon from the coming-in of Julius Cæsar to the taking of Rome by Alaric, (in which year Honorius wrote those letters of discharge into Britain,) for the space of 462 years‡. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western World was chiefly Roman; learning, valour, eloquence, history, civility, and even language itself; all these together, as it were, with equal pace, diminishing and decaying.

Henceforth we are to steer by another sort of authors; near enough in situation to the things they write of, as they happened in their own country, if that would serve; and in time not much belated, some of them being of equal age: but in expression barbarous; and to say how judicious, I suspend a while. This we must expect; in

The death of Constantine.

The Empeirour Honorius abandons the Government of Britain. A. D. 409.

\* Gildas, Beda. Zozim. l. 6.

† Procopius vandalic.

‡ Calvis. Sigon.  
G  
dubious

*The History of England*

civil matters to find them dubious relaters, and still to the best advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themselves: in most other matters of religion, blind, astonished, and struck with superstition as with a planet; in one word, Monks. Yet these guides, where can be had no better, must be followed; in gross, it may be true enough; in circumstances every reader, as his judgement guides him, may reserve his faith, or bestow it. But so different a state of things requires a several relation.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE  
HISTORY OF BRITAIN.  
THE THIRD BOOK.

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THIS third book, having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary as the intermission of the go, of a government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late civil broils here in England had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the Britains then were in when the Imperial jurisdiction, decaying hence, left them to the sway of their own councils: Which times by comparing seriously with these latter, and that confused anarchy with this interregnum, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of state, producing like events among us, to raise a knowledge of ourselves both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the Britains generally are in matters of so high enterprise; how by nature, industry, or custom, fitted to attempt, or undergo, matters of so main consequence. Nor, if it be a high point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a nation, *to know itself*; rather than, puffed up with vulgar flatteries and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly and come-off miserably in great undertakings.

\* "Of these who swayed most in the late troubles, few words as to this point may suffice. They had arms, leaders, and successes to their wish; but 'to make use of so great an advantage' was not their skill.

"To other causes therefore, and not to the want of force, or warlike manhood, in the Britains, both those, and these lately, we must impute the ill husbanding of those fair opportunities, which might seem to have put Liberty, so long desired, like a *bride*, into their hands. Of which other causes, equally belonging to

Reflections on the late civil wars in England from the year 1640 to the year 1660.

\* The following paragraphs, marked with inverted commas, have been omitted in all the former editions of our author's History of Britain, except that published in the collection of his works, 1788, 2 vol. folio, and the subsequent edition in quarto.



“ ruler, priest, and people, above hath been related :  
 “ which, as they brought those ancient natives to misery  
 “ and ruin, by Liberty, which, rightly used, might have  
 “ made them happy ; so brought they these of late, after  
 “ many labours, much bloodshed, and vast expense, to  
 “ ridiculous frustration : in whom the like defects, the  
 “ like miscarriages notoriously appeared, with vices not  
 “ less hateful or inexcusable.

Of the Parliament,  
 since called the  
 Long Parliament,  
 which met on the 8d  
 of November, 1640.

“ For, a parliament being called, to redress many  
 “ things, as it was thought, the people with great cou-  
 “ rage, and expectation to be eased of what discon-  
 “ tented them, chose to their behoof in parliament, such  
 “ as they thought to be best affected to the public good,  
 “ and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity ; the  
 “ rest, (to be sure, the greater part,) whom wealth or  
 “ ample possessions, or bold and active ambition (rather  
 “ than merit) had commended to the same place.

“ But, when once the superficial zeal and popular  
 “ fumes that actuated their new magistracy, were cooled  
 “ and spent in them, strait every one betook himself  
 “ (setting the commonwealth behind, and his private ends  
 “ before) to do as his own profit or ambition led him.  
 “ Then was justice delayed,\* and soon after denied ;  
 “ spight and favour determined all : hence faction,  
 “ thence treachery, both at home and in the field : every  
 “ where wrong, and oppression : foul and horrid deeds  
 “ committed daily, or maintained, in secret, or in open.  
 “ Some who had been called from shops and warehouses,  
 “ without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and  
 “ committees, (as their breeding was) fell to huckster  
 “ the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men  
 “ could sooth and humour them best ; so he who would  
 “ give most, or, under covert of hypocritical zeal, insi-  
 “ nuate basest, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learn-  
 “ ing and fidelity ; or escaped the punishment of his  
 “ crimes and misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances,

\* See upon this subject, “*The Mystery of the two Juntos, Presbyterian and Independant*” by Clement Walker, Esq. a Member of the famous Long Parliament that began on the 8d day of November, 1640 ; which tract was first published in December, 1648, and lately re-published in the first volume of “*Select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars in England, in the Reign of King Charles the First,*” in the year 1815, from page 320, to page 352,

“ which

“ which, men looked, should have contained the repeal-  
“ ing of bad laws, and the immediate constitution of  
“ better, resounded with nothing else, but new imposi-  
“ tions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not  
“ to reckon the offices, gifts, and preferments bestowed  
“ and shared among themselves: they in the mean while,  
“ who were ever faithfulest to this cause, and freely  
“ aided them in person, or with their substance, when they  
“ durst not compel either, were slighted and bereaved after  
“ of their just debts by greedy sequestrations, and were  
“ tossed up and down, after miserable attendance, from  
“ one committee to another with petitions in their hands,  
“ yet either missed the obtaining of their suit, or, though  
“ it were at length granted, (mere shame and reason  
“ oft-times extorting from them at least a show of jus-  
“ tice) yet by their sequestrators and sub-committees  
“ abroad, (men for the most part of insatiable hands, and  
“ noted disloyalty,) those orders were commonly dis-  
“ obeyed: which, for certain, durst not have been, without  
“ secret compliance, if not compact with some superi-  
“ ours able to bear them out. Thus were their friends  
“ confiscate in their enemies, while they forfeited their  
“ debtors to the state, as they called it, but indeed to  
“ the ravening seizure of innumerable thieves in office:  
“ yet were withal no less burdened in all extraordinary  
“ assessments and oppressions, than those whom they  
“ took to be disaffected: nor were we happier creditors  
“ to what we called the State, than to them who were  
“ sequestered as the State’s enemies.

“ For that Faith which ought to have been kept as sacred  
“ and inviolable as any thing holy, namely, ‘ the Public  
“ Faith,’ after infinite sums received, and all the wealth  
“ of the church not better employed, but swallowed-up  
“ into a private Gulph, was not ere long ashamed to con-  
“ fess bankrupt. And now besides the sweetness of  
“ bribery, and other gain, with the love of rule, their own  
“ guiltiness and the dreaded name of Just Account, which  
“ the people had long called for, discovered plainly that  
“ there were of their own number, who secretly contrived  
“ and fomented those troubles and combustions in the  
“ land, which openly they sat to remedy; and would  
“ continually

Of the bad state of  
Religion.

“continually find such work, as should keep them from  
“being ever brought to that Terrible Stand of laying-  
“down their authority for lack of new business, or not  
“drawing it out to any length of time, though upon the  
“ruin of a whole nation.

“And, if the State were in this plight, Religion was not  
“in much better; to reform which, a certain number of  
“divines were called, who were neither chosen by any rule  
“or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or  
“knowledge above others who were left-out; only as each  
“member of parliament in his private fancy thought fit, so  
“they were elected one by one. The most part of them were  
“such, as had preached and cried-down, with great show of  
“zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates;  
“declaring that one cure of souls was a full employment for  
“one spiritual pastor how able soever, if not a charge rather  
“above human strength. Yet these conscientious men  
“( ere any part of the work was done for which they came  
“together, and that on the publick salary ) wanted not  
“boldness, ( to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-  
“like profession, and especially of their boasted refor-  
“mation, ) to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly  
“to accept ( besides one, sometimes two, or more, of  
“the-best livings ) collegiate masterships in the universi-  
“ties, and rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds  
“that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms : by  
“which means these great rebukers of non-residence;  
“among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be  
“seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves,  
“to a fearful condemnation, doubtless, by their own  
“mouths. And yet the main doctrine for which they  
“took such pay, and insisted-upon with more vehemence  
“than gospel, was but to tell us in effect, that their doc-  
“trine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of  
“their ministry less available than bodily compulsion;  
“persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means  
“to subdue and bring-in conscience, than evangelical  
“persuasion : distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual  
“weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly  
“called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull-down  
“all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves  
“against

“against God. But, while they taught compulsion  
“without convincement, which not long before they  
“complained of as executed unchristianly, against them-  
“selves : these intents are clear to have been no better  
“than antichristian : setting up a spiritual tyranny by a  
“secular power, to the advancing of their own authority  
“above the magistrate, whom they would have made  
“their executioner, to punish church-delinquencies,  
“whereof civil laws have no cognizance.

“And well did their disciples manifest themselves to  
“be no better principled than their teachers, trusted with  
“committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their  
“commendations for zealous, (and as they sticked not  
“to term them) godly men ; but executing their places  
“like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, un-  
“mercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly. So that  
“between them the teachers, and these the disciples, there  
“hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound  
“to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more  
“cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and  
“truth, since the first preaching of reformation.

“The people therefore looking one while on the Sta-  
“tists, (whom they beheld without constancy or firm-  
“ness, labouring doubtfully beneath the weight of their  
“own too high undertakings, busiest in petty things,  
“trifling in the main,) deluded and quite alienated, ex-  
“pressed in divers ways their disaffection ; some despising  
“those persons whom before they had honoured, some de-  
“serting, some inveighing, some conspiring against them.  
“Then looking on the churchmen, (whom they saw, under  
“subtle hypocrisy, to have preached their own follies, most  
“of them, not the gospel, and to be time-servers, covetous,  
“illiterate, persecutors, not lovers of the truth, and to be  
“like to their predecessors in most of the vices whereof  
“they had accused them:)—looking on all this, the people  
“ (which had been kept warm a while with the counterfeit  
“zeal of their pulpits,) after a false heat, became more cold  
“and obdurate than before, some turning to lewdness,  
“some to flat atheism, put beside their old religion, and  
“foully scandalized in what they expected should be the  
“new.

“Thus they who of late were extolled as our greatest  
“deliverers,



“ deliverers, and had the people wholly at their devotion,  
 “ by so discharging their trust as we see, did not only  
 “ weaken and unfit themselves to be dispensers of what  
 “ liberty they pretended, but unfitted also the people,  
 “ now grown worse and more disordinate, to receive or  
 “ to digest any liberty at all. For stories teach us, that  
 “ liberty sought out of season, in a corrupt and degene-  
 “ rate age, brought Rome itself to a farther slavery: for  
 “ liberty hath a sharp and double edge, fit only to be  
 “ handled by just and virtuous men; to the bad and disso-  
 “ lut-, it becomes a mischief unweildy in their own  
 “ hands: neither is it completely given, but by them  
 “ who have the happy skill to know what is grievance  
 “ and unjust to a people, and how to remove it wisely;  
 “ what good laws are wanting, and how to frame them  
 “ substantially, that good men may enjoy the freedom  
 “ which they merit, and the bad feel the curb which they  
 “ need. But to do this, and to know these exquisite  
 “ proportions, the heroic wisdom which is required, sur-  
 “ mounted far the principles of these narrow politicians:  
 “ what wonder then was it if they sunk (as these unfortunate  
 “ Britains had done before them,) entangled and oppressed  
 “ with things too hard and generous, above their strain  
 “ and temper? For Britain, to speak a truth not often  
 “ spoken, as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout  
 “ and courageous in war, so it is naturally not over-fer-  
 “ tile of men able to govern justly and prudently in  
 “ peace, trusting only in their own mother-wit; who consi-  
 “ der not justly, that civility, prudence, love of the public  
 “ good, more than of money, or vain honour, are to  
 “ this soil in a manner outlandish; grow not here, but  
 “ in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate  
 “ breeding, too impolitic else and rude, if not headstrong  
 “ and intractable to the industry and virtue it her of exe-  
 “ cuting or understanding true civil government. Vali-  
 “ ant indeed, and prosperous to win a field; but to  
 “ know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious, and  
 “ unwise: in good or bad success, alike unteachable.  
 “ For the sun, which we want, ripens wits as well as  
 “ fruits; and, as wine and oil are imported to us from  
 “ abroad, so must ripe understanding, and many civil  
 “ virtues,



“ virtues, be imported into our minds from foreign writings, and examples of best ages; we shall else miscarry still, and come short in the attempts of any great enterprise. Hence did their victories prove as fruitless, as their losses dangerous; and left them, though still conquering, under the same grievances, that men suffer when they are conquered: which was indeed unlikely to go otherwise, unless men more than vulgar, bred-up, (as few of them were,) in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds, invincible against many and vain titles, and free from partiality to friendships and relations, had conducted their affairs. But, in the late times, from the chapman to the retailer, many whose ignorance was more audacious than the rest, were admitted, with all their sordid rudiments, to bear no mean sway among them, both in Church and State.

“ From the confluence of all their errours, mischiefs, and misdemeanors, what in the eyes of man could be expected, but what befel those ancient inhabitants, whom they so much resembled, confusion in the end?

“ But on these things, and this parallel, having enough insisted, I return to the story, which gave us the matter of this digression.”]

The Britains thus, as we heard, being left without protection from the empire, and the land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in wars abroad; or not caring to return home, and those who remained in the island being, through long subjection, grown servile in mind\*, slothful of body, and with the use of arms unacquainted, sustained but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For, although at first greedy of change†, and to be thought the leading nation to freedom from the Roman empire, they seemed awhile to bestir them with a show of diligence in their new affairs; some secretly aspiring to rule; others adoring the name of liberty; yet, so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them,—not stomach, or the love of licence,—but the wisdom, the virtue, the labour, to use and

\* Gild. Bede. Malms.

† Zozim. l. 6.

The Britains implore the assistance of Honorius. A. D. 422.

maintain true liberty,—they soon remitted their heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of their own liberty, than before under a foreign yoke. Insomuch that the residue of those Romans, which had planted themselves here, despairing of their ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by those few who had the courage or the strength to bear arms, nine years after the sacking of Rome removed out of Britain into France\*, hiding for haste great part of their treasure, which was never after found†. And now again the Britains, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing enemy, solicit Honorius to their aid‡, with mournful letters, embassies, and vows of perpetual subjection to Rome, if the northern foe were but repulsed. § He at their request spares them one legion which, with great slaughter of the Scots and Picts, drove them beyond the borders, rescued the Britains, and advised them to build a wall across the island, between sea and sea, from the place where Edinburgh now stands to the frith of Dunbritton, by the city Alcluith||. But the material being only turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built-up without better direction, availed them little. \*\* For no sooner was the legion departed, but greedy spoilers returning land in great numbers from their boats and pinnaces, wasting, slaying, and treading-down all before them. Then are Messengers again posted to Rome in lamentable sort, beseeching that they would not suffer a whole province to be destroyed, and the Roman name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of Barbarian scorn and insolence. †† The emperor, at their sad complaint, with what speed was possible, sends to their succour. Who coming suddenly on those ravenous multitudes that minded only spoil, surprise them with terrible slaughter. They who escaped fled back to those seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return laden with booties. But the Romans who came not now to rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it stood not longer with the ease of

The Emperor sends some troops to assist them.

\* Post Christ. 418. † Ethelward, annal. Sax. ‡ Gildas. Post Christ. 422. § Diaconus, l. 14. || Bede, l. 1. c. 2. ¶ Gildas. \*\* Post Christ. 423.

their

their affairs to make such laborious voyages in pursuit of so base and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage their own warfare; and to defend like men their country, their wives, their children, and what was to be dearer than life, their liberty, against an enemy not stronger than themselves, if their own sloth and cowardice had not made them so: if they would but only find hands to grasp defensive arms, rather than basely stretch them out to receive bonds. \* They gave them also their help to build a new wall, not of earth as the former, but of stone, (both at the public cost, and by particular contributions) traversing the isle in a direct line from east to west, between certain cities placed there as frontiers to bear-off the enemy, where Severus had walled once before. They raised it twelve foot high, and eight broad. Along the south shore, because from thence also like hostility was feared, they place towers by the sea-side at certain distances, for safety of the coast. Withal they instruct them in the art of war, leaving patterns of the arms and weapons behind them; and with animating words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly expeditions, the last of any hither by the Romans, were performed, as may be gathered out of Bede and Diaconus, the two last years of Honorius. † Their leader; as some modernly write, was Gallio of Ravenna; Buchanan, who departs not much from the fables of his predecessor Boethius, names him Maximianus, and brings against him to this battle Fergus king of Scots, after their second supposed coming into Scotland. Durstus, king of Picts, both there slain, and Dioneth an imaginary king of Britain, or Duke of Cornwall, who improbably sided with them against his own country, hardly escaping ‡. With no less exactness of particular circumstances he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuary inroads of the Scots and Picts into Britain, as if they had but yesterday happened, their order of battle, manner of fight, number of slain, articles of

But the Romans soon after take a final leave of the Island of Britain.

\* Bede, *ibid.* Gildas.

† Blond. Sabellic.

‡ Buch. l. 5.

peace,

peace, things whereof Gildas and Bede are utterly silent, authors to whom the Scotch writers have none to cite comparable in antiquity; no more therefore to be believed for bare assertions, however quaintly drest, than our Geoffrey of Monmouth, when he varies most from authentic story. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily called historians, or the fond zeal of praising their nations above truth, hath so far transported them, that, where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent what they think may either best set-off their history, or magnify their country.

The Scots and Picts  
renew their attempts  
against the Britains.

The Scots and Picts in manners differing somewhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the Romans intended not to return, from their gorroghs or leathern frigates \* pour-out themselves in swarms upon the land, more confident than ever; and from the north end of the isle to the very wall's side, then first took possession as inhabitants; while the Britains with idle weapons in their hands stand trembling on the battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with their long and formidable iron hooks pull them down head-long. The rest not only quitting the wall, but towns and cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a famine, and from thence discord and civil commotion among the Britains; each man living by what he robbed or took violently from his neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the woods, and lived by hunting, which was their only sustainment. † To the heaps of these evils from without were added new divisions within the church. ‡ For Agricola the son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, had spread his doctrine wide among the Britains, not uninfected before. The sounder part, neither willing to embrace his opinion to the overthrow of divine grace, nor able to refute him, crave assistance from the churches of France: who send

The doctrine of Pe-  
lagius prevails in  
Britain.

\* Gildas, Bede.

† Bede.

‡ Constantius.

them



them Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troyes. They by continual preaching in churches \*, in streets, in fields, and not without miracles, as is written, confirmed some, regained others, and at Verulam in a public disputation put to silence their chief adversaries. This reformation in the church was believed to be the cause of their success a while after in the field. For the Saxons and Picts with joint force †, (which was no new thing before the Saxons at least had any dwelling in this island,) during the abode of Germanus here, had made a strong impression from the north. ‡ The Britains marching out against them, and mistrusting their own power, send to Germanus and his colleague, reposing more in the spiritual strength of those two men, than in their own thousands armed. They came, and their presence in the camp was not less than if a whole army had come to second them. It was then the time of Lent, and the people, instructed by the daily sermons of these two pastors, came flocking to receive baptism. There was a place in the camp set-apart as a church, and tricked-up with boughs upon Easter-day. The enemy understanding this, and that the Britains were taken-up with religious ceremonies more than with feats of arms, advances after the paschal feast, as to a certain victory. German, who also had intelligence of their approach, undertakes to be captain that day; and riding-out with selected troops to discover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a valley compassed about with hills, by which the enemy was to pass. And placing there his ambush, warns them, that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The enemy passes on securely, and German thrice aloud cries Hallelujah; which answered by the soldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the hills and valleys redoubled. The Saxons and Picts on a sudden, supposing it the noise of a huge host, throw themselves into flight, casting down their arms, and great numbers of them are drowned in the river which they had newly passed. This victory, thus won without hands, left to

Germanus and Lupus, two French Bishops, come over to Britain, and preach against the doctrine of Pelagius.

\* Post Christ. 426. Prosp. Aquit. Matth. West. ad ann. 416. † Post Christ. 430. ‡ Constant. vit. German.



the Britains plenty of spoil, and the person and the preaching of German greater authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if Constantius, the writer of his life in the next age, had resolved us how the British army came to want baptizing; for of any paganism at that time, or long before, in the land we read not, or that Pelagianism was rebaptized. The place of this victory, as is reported, was in Flintshire \*, by a town called Guid cruc, and the river Allen, where a field retains the name of Maes German to this day. But so soon as German was returned home †, the Scots and Picts, (though now so many of them christians, that Palladius, a deacon, was ordained and sent by Celestine the pope to be a bishop over them,) were not so well reclaimed, or not so many of them, as to cease from doing mischief to their neighbours ‡, where they found no impediment to their falling-in yearly, as they were wont. They therefore of the Britains who perhaps were not yet wholly ruined, in the strongest and south-west parts of the isle §, send letters to Ætius, then for the third time consul of Rome, with this superscription; "To Ætius thrice consul, the groans of the Britains." And after a few words thus: "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians: thus banded up and down between two deaths, we perish either by the sword or by the sea." But the empire, at that time overspread with Huns and Vandals, was not in a condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied-out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the enemy; others, either more resolute, or less exposed to wants, keeping within woods and mountainous places, not only defended themselves, but sallying-out, at length gave a stop to the insulting foe, with many seasonable defeats: led by some eminent person, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to trust in their own strength, but in divine assistance. And, perhaps, no other assistance is here meant than the

\* Usser. Primod. p. 333.

† Post Christ. 491. Prosp. Aquit.

Exhelwerd.

‡ Florent. Gild. Bede.

§ Malmesbury, l. 1. c. 1.

p. 8. Post Christ. 446.

foresaid deliverance by German, if computation would permit, which Gildas either not much regarded, or might mistake; but that he tarried so long here, the writers of his life assent not\*. Finding therefore such opposition, the Scots or Irish robbers, (for so they are indifferently termed,) without delay get them home. The Picts, as before was mentioned, then first began to settle in the utmost parts of the island, using now and then to make inroads upon the Britains. But they in the mean while thus rid of their enemies, begin afresh to till the ground; which after cessation yields her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly been known, for many ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow-up as fast; and with them, if Gildas deserve belief, all other vices incident to human corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief of perverting of all good in the land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embraced for good, wickedness honoured and esteemed as virtue. And this quality their valour had, against a foreign enemy to be ever backward and heartless; to civil broils eager and prompt. In matters of government, and the search of truth, weak and shallow; in falshood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse, most an end, was the weightier. All things were done contrary to public welfare and safety; nor only by secular men; for the clergy also, (whose example should have guided others,) were as vicious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness, or swoln with pride and wilfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscrete, incompetent judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnished with judgement, and for manners thus qualified, both priests and laymen,

The Britains fall into a state of Luxury and Vice and civil Dissensions.

\* Gildas.

they

they agree to choose them several kings of their own; as near as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of God's anointing, but such as were cruellest; and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death, by their anointers, to set-up others more fierce and proud. As for the election of their kings (and that they had not all one monarch, appears both in ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guessed, either this year\* or the following, when they saw the Romans had quite deserted their claim. About which time also Pelagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the British clergy too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time Germanus to their assistance; who coming with Severus, a disciple of Lupus, that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continued right; but, inquiring those authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore, by consent of all, were delivered to Germanus; who carrying them over with him†, disposed of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But Germanus the same year died in Italy; and the Britains not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no slight rumour, that their old troublers the Scots and Picts had prepared a strong invasion, purposing to kill all, and dwell themselves in the land from end to end. But ere their coming-in, as if the instruments of divine justice had been at strife, which of them first should destroy a wicked nation, the pestilence, fore-stalling the sword, left scarce enough of them alive to bury the dead; and for that time, (as one extremity keeps-off another.) preserved the land from a worse incumbrance of those barbarous dispossessioners whom the contagion gave not leave now to enter far. † And yet the Britains, nothing bettered by these heavy judgements, the one threatened, the other felt, instead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the palace of their king

The Britains, being totally abandoned by the Romans, choose several kings of their own. About A. D. 440.

The death of Germanus. A. D. 448.

A dreadful pestilence destroys vast numbers of the Britains.

\* Post Christ. 447. Constant. Bede. Gildas. † Malms. l. 1.

† Post Christ. 448. Sigon.

Vortigern with complaints and cries of what they suddenly feared from the Pictish invasion. Vortigern, (who at that time was chief, rather than sole, King, unless the rest had, perhaps, left their dominions to the common enemy,) is said by him of Monmouth, to have procured the death first of Constantine, then of Constance his son, who of a monk was made king, and by that means to have usurped the crown. But they who can remember how Constantine, with his son Constance the monk, the one made Emperor, the other Cæsar, perished in France, may discern the simple fraud of this fable. But Vortigern (however he may have come to reign,) is deciphered by truer stories as a proud, unfortunate, tyrant, and yet is said to have been much beloved of the people, because his vices sorted so well with theirs. For neither was he skilled in war, nor wise in counsel, but covetous, lustful, luxurious, and prone to all vice; wasting the public treasure in gluttony and riot, careless of the common danger, and, through a haughty ignorance, unapprehensive, of his own. Nevertheless importuned and awakened at length by unusual clamours of the people, he summons a general council, to provide some better means than heretofore had been used against these continual annoyances from the north. Wherein, by advice of all, it was determined, that the Saxons should be invited into Britain against the Scots and Picts; whose breaking-in they either shortly expected, or already found they had not strength enough to oppose. The Saxons were a barbarous and heathen nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all their neighbours; both by sea and land; in particular to this island: witness that military force, which the Roman emperors maintained here purposely against them; under a special commander, whose title, as is found on good record\*, was, "Count of the Saxon shore in Britain:?" and the many mischiefs done by their landing here, both alone and with the Picts, as above hath been related; witness as much. † They were a people thought by good writers, to be descended of the Sacæ, a kind of Scythians in the north of Asia, and to have been thence called Sa-

Vortigern, king of Britain, calls a general Council of his people, to consider about some means of resisting the invasions of the Scots and Picts.

And it is resolved that the Saxons be invited to come to their assistance.

Of the origin of the Saxons.

\* *Notitiæ imperii.*

† *Florent. Wigorn. ad. an. 370.*



casons, or sons of the Sacæ, who, with a flood of other northern nations, came into Europe, toward the declining of the Roman empire; and using piracy from Denmark all along these seas, possessed at length by intrusion all that coast of Germany\*, and the Netherlands, which took thence the name of Old Saxony, lying between the Rhine and Elbe, and from thence north as far as Eidora, the river bounding Holsatia; though not so firmly, or so largely, but that their multitude wandered yet uncertain of an habitation. Such guests as these the Britains resolve now to send-for, and entreat into their houses and possessions, at whose very name heretofore they trembled afar off. So much do men, through impatience, count ever that the heaviest, which they bear at present, and, to remove the evil which they suffer, care not though they act in such a manner as to pull-on a greater; as if variety and change in evil also were acceptable. Or, whether it be that men, in the despair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge in a change from one misery to another.

† The Britains therefore with Vortigern, who was then accounted king over them all, resolve in full council to send ambassadors of their choicest men with great gifts, and, saith a Saxon writer in these words, desiring their aid; “Worthy Saxons, hearing the fame of your prowess, the distressed Britains wearied-out, and overpressed by a continual invading enemy, have sent us to beseech your aid. They have a land fertile and spacious, which to your commands they bid us surrender. Heretofore we have lived with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the Roman empire. Next to them we know none worthier than yourselves: and therefore become suppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our present enemies, and to aught by you imposed, willingly we shall submit.” Yet Ethelwerd writes not that they promised subjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them ‡, hearing themselves entreated by the Britains, to that which gladly they would have wished to obtain of them by en-

\* Ethelwerd.

† Ethelwerd. Malmsh. Witichind. gest. Sax. l. 1. p. 3.

‡ Malmsh.

treating,



treating, to the British embassy return this answer:  
 \* “ Be assured henceforth of the Saxons, as of faithful  
 friends to the Britains, no less ready to stand by them in  
 their need, than in their best of fortune.” The embas-  
 sadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to their  
 country, whose sinister fate had now blinded them for  
 destruction. † The Saxons, consulting first their gods,  
 (for they had answer, that the land whereto they went,  
 they should hold three hundred years, half that time  
 conquering, and half quietly possessing) furnish-out three  
 long galleys ‡, or kyules, with a chosen company of  
 warlike youth, under the conduct of two brothers, Hen-  
 gist and Horsa, descended in the fourth degree from  
 Woden; from whom, (deified for the fame of his acts,) most  
 kings of those nations derive their pedigree. These, and  
 either mixed with these, or soon after by themselves,  
 two other tribes, or neighbouring people, called Jutes and  
 Angles, the one from Jutland, the other from Anglen  
 by the city of Sleswick, (both provinces of Denmark,) ar-  
 rive in the first year of Martian the Greek emperor, from  
 the birth of Christ four hundred and fifty years §, received  
 with much good-will of the people first, then of the  
 king, who, after some assurances given and taken, be-  
 stows on them the isle of Tanet, where they first landed,  
 hoping they might be made hereby more eager against  
 the Picts, when they fought as for their own country,  
 and more loyal to the Britains, from whom they had  
 received a place to dwell-in, which before they wanted.  
 The British Nennius writes, that these brethren were  
 driven into exile out of Germany, and to Vortigern who  
 reigned in much fear, one while of the Picts, then of  
 the Romans and Ambrosius, came opportunely into the  
 haven. || For it was the custom in Old Saxony, when  
 their numerous offspring overflowed the narrowness of  
 their bounds, to send them out by lot into new dwel-  
 lings wherever they found room, either vacant or to be  
 forced. ¶ But whether sought, or unsought, they dwelt  
 not here long without employment. For the Scots and

The Answer of the  
Saxons.

The Saxons under  
Hengist and Horsa  
land in the Isle of  
Thanet. A. D. 450.

They, soon after, de-  
feat the Scots and  
Picts near Stamford  
in Lincolnshire.

\* Witichind. † Gildas. ‡ Bede. § Post Christ. 450. Nennius.  
Malms. || Malms. ¶ Henry Huntingd.

Picts were now come-down, some say, as far as Stamford, in Lincolnshire, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new opposition, the Saxons, though not till after a sharp encounter, put to flight \*; and that more than once; slaying in fight †, as some Scotch writers affirm, their king Eugenius, the son of Fergus. ‡ Hengist, perceiving the island to be rich and fruitful, but her princes and other inhabitants to be given to vicious ease, sends word home, inviting others to a share of his good success: 'Who, returning with seventeen ships, were grown-up now to a sufficient army, and entertained without suspicion on these terms, that they "should bear the brunt of war against the Picts, receiving a stipend, and some place to inhabit." With these was brought-over the daughter of Hengist, a virgin wonderful fair, as is reported; Rowen the British call her. She, by commandment of her father, who had invited the king to a banquet, coming in presence with a bowl of wine to welcome him, and to attend on his cup till the feast ended, won so much upon his fancy, though already wived, as to induce him to demand her in marriage upon any conditions. Hengist at first, (though it fell-out perhaps according to his drift,) held-off, excusing his meanness; then obscurely intimating a desire and almost a necessity, by reason of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of Tanet enlarged to the circuit of Kent, had it straight by donation; though Guoranguon, till then, was king of that place; and so, as it were, overcome by the great munificence of Vortigern, gave him his daughter. And, still encroaching on the king's favour, got further leave to call-over Octa and Ebissa, his own and his brother's son; pretending that they, if the north were given them, would sit there as a continual defence against the Scots, while himself guarded the east. § They therefore sailing with forty ships, even to the Orcades, and every way curbing the Scots and Picts, possessed that part of the isle which is now Northumberland. Notwithstanding this, they complain that their monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the Britains found means to satisfy, though alledging

Vortigern, king of Britain, marries the daughter of Hengist, and gives him the Province of Kent.

And Octa and Ebissa, with another body of Saxons, get possession of Northumberland.

\* Ethelwerd. † Bed. Nenn. ‡ Nenn. § Gildas, Bed. Nenn.

withal,

withal, that they to whom promise was made of wages were nothing so many in number: quieted with this a while, but still seeking occasion to fall-off, they find fault next, that their pay is too small for the danger they undergo, threatening open war unless it be augmented: Guortimer, the king's son, perceiving his father and the kingdom thus betrayed, from that time bends his utmost endeavour to drive them out. They on the other side making league with the Picts and Scots, and issuing out of Kent, wasted without resistance almost the whole land even to the western sea, with such a horrid devastation; that towns and colonies overturned, priests and people slain, temples and palaces, what with white fire and sword, lay all together heaped in one mixed ruin. Of all which multitude, so great was the sinfulness that brought this upon them, Gildas adds, that few or none were likely to be other than lewd and wicked persons. The residue of these, part overtaken in the mountains were slain; others subdued with hunger preferred slavery before instant death; some getting to rocks, hills, and woods inaccessible, preferred the fear and danger of any death, before the shame of a secure slavery\*; many fled over sea into other countries; some into Holland, where yet remain the ruins of Brittenburgh, an old castle on the sea, to be seen at low-water not far from Leyden, either built, as writers of their own affirm, or seized-on by those Britains, in their escape from Hengist: † others into Armorica, peopled, as some think, with Britains long before, either by gift of Constantine the Great, or else of Maximus to those British forces which had served them in foreign wars‡; to whom those also that miscarried not with the latter Constantine at Arles, and, lastly, these exiles driven out by Saxons, fled for refuge. But the ancient chronicles of those provinces attest their coming thither to be then first when they fled from the Saxons; and indeed the name of Britain in France is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of fugitives, who had quitted without stroke their own country, should so soon win another, appears not, unless joined to some party of

The Saxons turn their arms against the Britains, and make great slaughter of them.

Many of the Britains take refuge in *Armorica* in Gaul, which thence takes the name of *Britany*.

\* Primord. p. 418.

† Malms. l. 1. c. 1.

‡ Hunting. l. 1.

Vortigern, king of Britain, is deposed by his own subjects for the crime of Incest with his own daughter.

He is succeeded by his son Guortimer; under whose command the Britains resist the Saxons with good success.

Horsa, the brother of Hengist, is slain in battle. A. D. 455.

their own settled there before. \* Vortigern, nothing bettered by these calamities, grew at last so obdurate as to commit incest with his daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the crown. For which being censured and condemned in a great synod of clerks and laics, partly for fear of the Saxons, according to the counsel of his peers, he retired into Wales, and built him there a strong castle in Radnorshire †, by the advice of Ambrosius, a young prophet, whom others call Merlin. Nevertheless Faustus, (who was the son thus incestuously begotten,) under the instructions of German, or some of his disciples, (for German was dead before,) proved a religious man, and lived in devotion by the river Remnis, in Glamorganshire. ‡ But the Saxons, though finding it so easy to subdue the isle, with most of their forces, uncertain for what cause, returned home: whereas the easiness of their conquest might seem rather likely to have called in more; which makes more probable that which the British write of Guortimer. § For he coming to reign, instead of his father deposed for incest, is said to have thrice driven and besieged the Saxons in the isle of Tanet; and, when they issued out with powerful supplies sent from Saxony, to have fought with them four other battles, whereof three are named; the first on the river Darwent, the second at Episford, wherein Horsa, the brother of Hengist, fell, and on the British part Catigern the other son of Vortigern. The third in a field by Stonar, then called Lapis Tituli, in Tanet, where he beat them into their ships that bore them home, glad to have so escaped, and not venturing to land again for five years after. In the space whereof Guortimer dying, commanded that they should bury him in the port of Stonar, persuaded that his bones lying there would be terrour enough, to keep the Saxons from ever landing in that place: but they, saith Nennius, neglecting his command, buried him in Lincoln. But concerning these times, the ancientest annals of the Saxons relate in this manner. || In the year four hundred and fifty-five, Hengist and Horsa fought against

\* Nenn. Malmsb. † Nenn. ‡ Gildas. § Nenn. || Post Christ. 455. Bede. Ethelwerd. Florant. Annal. Sax.

Vortigern,



Vortigern, in a place called Eglesthrif, now Aisford in Kent, where Horsa lost his life, of whom Horsted, the place of his burial, took it's name.

After this first battle and the death of his brother, Hengist with his son Esca took on him kingly title\*, and peopled Kent with Jutes; who also then, or not long after, possessed the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire lying opposite. † Two years after in a fight at Creganford, or Craford, Hengist and his son slew of the Britains four chief commanders, and as many thousand men; the rest in great disorder flying to London, with the total loss of Kent. ‡ And, eight years passing between, he made new war on the Britains; of whom, in a battle at Wippeds-fleet, twelve princes were slain, and Wipped the Saxon earl, who left his name to that place, though not sufficient to direct us where it now stands. § His last encounter was at a place not mentioned, where he gave them such an overthrow, that, flying in great fear, they left the spoil of all to their enemies. And these perhaps are the four battles, according to Nennius, fought by Guortimer, though by these writers far differently related; and happening, besides many other bickerings, in the space of twenty years, as Malmsbury reckons. Nevertheless, it plainly appears that the Saxons, by whomsoever, were put to hard shifts, being all this while fought withal in Kent, their own allotted dwelling, and sometimes on the very edge of the sea, which the word Wippeds-fleet seems to intimate. || But, Guortimer being now dead, and none of courage left to defend the land, Vortigern, either by the power of his faction, or by consent of all, reassumes the government: and Hengist, thus rid of his grand opposer, hearing gladly the restorement of his old favourite, returns again with great forces; but to Vortigern, (whom he well knew how to handle without warring,) as to his son-in law, (now that Guortimer, the only author of dissension between them, was removed by death,) offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The king, both for his wife's sake and his own sottishness,

Hengist is called king of Kent. A. D. 455.

Guortimer a reign of 10 years and Vortigern becomes king of Britain.

\* The kingdom of Kent. † Post Christ. 457. ‡ Post Christ. 465.  
§ Post Christ. 475. || Nennius.



Hengist enters into a treaty with Vortigern, and treacherously causes 300 of the principal men amongst the Britains to be murdered at a feast.

The death of Vortigern.

Ambrosius Aurelianus, a brave and virtuous young man, of Roman parentage, becomes king of Britain, after Vortigern, and gains a great victory over the Saxons.

consulting also with his peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the place of parley is agreed on; to which either side was to repair without weapons. Hengist, whose meaning was not peace, but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly armed, and acquainted them to what intent. \* The watchword was, "Nemet eour saxes," that is, "Draw your daggers;" which they observing, when the Britains were thoroughly heated with wine (for the treaty, it seems, was not without cups) and provoked, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatched with those poniards every one his next man, to the number of three hundred, the chief of those that could do aught against him, either in counsel or in the field. Vortigern they only bound and kept in custody, until he granted them for his ransom three provinces, which were called afterward Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex. Who thus dismissed, retiring again to his solitary abode in the country of Guorthigirniaun, (so called from his name,) from thence to the castle of his own building in North Wales, by the river Tiebi; and living there obscurely among his wives, was at length burnt in his tower by fire from Heaven, at the prayer†, as some say, of German, but that coheres not; as others, by Ambrosius Aurelianus; of whom, as we have heard, at first, he stood in great fear, and, partly for that cause, invited-in the Saxons. Who, whether by constraint or of their own accord, after much mischief done, most of them returning-back into their own country, left a fair opportunity to the Britains of avenging themselves easier on those who staid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earnest supplication imploring divine help to prevent their final rooting-out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of Ambrosius Aurelianus, a virtuous and modest man, the last here of the Roman stock, advancing now onward against the late victors, defeat them in a memorable battle. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the British fables, makes this Ambrosius to be a younger son of that Constantine, whose eldest, as we heard, was Constance the monk; who both lost their lives abroad usurping

\* Malms.

† Min. ex legend St. Ger. Galfrid. Monmouth.

the empire. But the express words both of Gildas and Bede assure us, that the parents of this Ambrosius having here born regal dignity, were slain in these Pictish wars and commotions in the island. And if the fear of Ambrose induced Vortigern to call in the Saxons, it seems Vortigern usurped his right. I perceive not that Nennius makes any difference between him and Merlin; for that child without father, that prophesied to Vortigern, he names not Merlin, but Ambrose; makes him the son of a Roman consul, but concealed by his mother, as fearing that the king therefore sought his life: yet the youth no sooner confessed his parentage, but Vortigern, either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, bestowed upon him all the west of Britain; himself retiring to a solitary life. Whosoever son he was, he was the first \*, according to surest authors, that led against the Saxons, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have written. This is certain, that in a time, when most of the Saxon forces were departed home, the Britains gathered strength; and either against those who were left remaining, or against their whole of powers the second time returning, obtained this victory. Thus Ambrose, as chief monarch of the isle, succeeded Vortigern: to whose third son, Pascentius, he permitted the rule of two regions in Wales, Bueth and Guorthigirniaun. In his days, saith Nennius †, the Saxons prevailed not much: against whom Arthur, as being then chief general for the British kings, made great war, but more renowned in songs and romances, than in true stories. And the sequel itself declares as much. For in the year four hundred and seventy-seven ‡, Ella, the Saxon, with his three sons, Cymen, Pleting, and Cissá, at a place in Sussex called Cymenshore, arrive in three ships, kill many of the Britains, chasing those that remained into the wood Andreds Leage. § Another battle was fought at Mercreds-Burnamsted, wherein Ella had by far the victory; but || Huntingdon makes it so doubtful, that the Saxons were constrained

Ella, the Saxon, arrives in Sussex. A. D. 477.

\* Gildas, Bed.  
Florent.

† Nenn.  
§ Post Christ. 185. Florent.

‡ Post Christ, 477, Sax. an. Ethelw.  
|| Huntingd.

Death of Hengist.  
A. D. 489.

to send home for supplies. \* Four years after died Hengist, the first Saxon king of Kent; noted to have attained that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and for giving scope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildness or civility. His son Oeric, surnamed Oisc, of whom the Kentish kings were called Oiscings, succeeded him, and sate content with his father's winnings, more desirous to settle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reigned twenty-four years. † By this time Ella and his son Cissa besieging Andredchester, supposed now to be Newenden in Kent, take it by force, and all within it put to the sword.

Ella becomes king of  
the South Saxons,  
or of Sussex. A. D.  
492.

Thus Ella, three years after the death of Hengist, began his kingdom of the South-Saxons ‡; peopling it with new inhabitants, from the country which was then called Old Saxony, at this day Holstein in Denmark, and had besides at his command all those provinces, which the Saxons had won on this side Humber §. Animated with these good successes, as if Britain were become now the field of fortune, Kerdic, another Saxon Prince, the tenth by lineage from Woden ||, an old and practised soldier, who in many prosperous conflicts against the enemy in those parts had nursed-up a spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place, which from thence took the name of Kerdic-shore ¶, with five ships, and Kenric his son, the very same day overthrew the Britains that opposed him; and so effectually, that smaller skirmishes after that day were sufficient to drive them still further off, leaving him a large territory. \*\* After him Porta, another Saxon, with his two sons, Beda and Megla, in two ships arrive at Portsmouth thence called, and at their landing slew a young British nobleman, with many others who unadvisedly set upon them. †† The Britains to recover what they had lost, draw-together all their forces, led by Natanleod, or Nazaleod, a certain king in Britain, and the greatest, saith one; but with him five

Kerdic lands in Eng-  
land. A. D. 495.

Porta lands at Ports-  
mouth. A. D. 501.

Kerdic gains a great  
victory over the Bri-  
tains commanded by  
Nazaleod. A. D.  
508.

\* Post Christ. 489. Malm. Bed. l. 2. c. 5. Camden.

† Post Christ. 492.

‡ The kingdom of South-Saxons.

§ Bed. l. 1. c. 15.

& l. 2. c. 5. || Sax. ann. omn.

¶ Post Christ. 495.

\*\* Post

Christ. 501. Sax. an. omn. Huntingdon.

†† Post Christ. 508. Ann.

omn. Huntingd. Camden. Uss. Primord.

thousand

thousand of his men Kerdic puts to rout and slays. From whence the place in Hantshire, as far as Kerdicsford, now Chardford, was called of old Nazalcod. Who this king should be, hath bred much question; some think it to be the British name of Ambrose; others to be the right name of his brother, who, for the terrour of his eagerness in fight, became more known by the surname of Uther; which in the Welch tongue signifies *Dreadful*. And if ever such a king in Britain there was as Uther Pendragon, (for so also the Monmouth book surnames him,) this in all likelihood must be he. Kerdic, by so great a blow given to the Britains, had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for such also of his friends, as he desired to make great; for which cause, and withal the more to strengthen himself, his two nephews Stuff and Withgar, in three vessels bring him new levies to Kerdic-shore\*. Who, that that they might not come sluggishly to possess what others had won for them, either by their own seeking, or by appointment, are set in a place where they could not but at their first coming give proof of themselves upon the enemy; and so well they did it, that the Britains, after a hard encounter, left them masters of the field†. About the same time, Ella, the first South-Saxon king, died; whom Cissa, his youngest son, succeeded; the other two failing before him.

Stuff and Withgar  
land at Kerdic-  
shore. A. D. 514.

Nor can it be much more or less than about this time, (for it was before the West-Saxon kingdom,) that Uffa, the eighth from Woden, made himself king of the East-Angles‡; who by their name testify the country above-mentioned; from whence they came in such multitudes; that their native soil is said to have remained in the days of Beda uninhabited§. Huntingdon defers the time of their coming-in to the ninth year of Kerdic's reign: for, saith he||, at first many of them strove for principality, seizing every one his province, and for some while so continued, making petty wars among themselves; ¶ till in the end Uffa, of whom these kings were called Uffings,

Uffa makes himself  
king of the East-An-  
gles. About A. D.  
514.

\* Post Christ. 514. An. omu. † Huntingdon. ‡ The kingdom of East-Angles. § Malmsb. l. 1. c. 5. Bed. l. 1. c. 15. || Hunt- ingd. l. 2. p. 213, 215. ¶ Bed. l. 2. c. 15.



overtopped them all in the year five hundred and seventy-one; \* then Titilus his son, the father of Redwald, who became potent.

And not much after the East-Angles, began also the East-Saxons to erect a kingdom under Sleda, the tenth from Woden. But Huntingdon, as before, will have it registered, and no more than barely registered, in annals later by eleven years, and Erchenwin to be the first king.

Kerdick the same in power, though not so fond of title; forbore the name of king twenty-four years after his arrival; but then founded so firmly the kingdom of the West-Saxons †, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole monarchy of England. The same year he had a victory against the Britains at Kerdic's ford, by the river Aven: and, after eight years ‡, another great fight at Kerdic's leade; but "which army won the day," is not by any writer set-down.

Hitherto has been collected what there is of certainty, with circumstances of time and place, to be found registered, and no more than barely registered, in annals of best note; without describing, after Huntingdon, the manner of those battles and encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of books, may be confident he never found in any current author, whom he had to follow. But this disease hath been incident to many more historians: and the age whereof we now write hath had the ill hap, more than any since the first fabulous times, to be surcharged with all the idle fancies of posterity. Yet, that we may not rely altogether on Saxon relaters, Gildas, in antiquity far before these, and every way more credible, speaks of these wars in such a manner. (though nothing conceited of the British valour,) as declares the Saxons, in his time and before, to have been foiled not seldomer than the Britains. For, besides that first victory of Ambrose, and the interchangeable success long after, he tells us that the last overthrow, which they received at Badon-hill, was not the least; which they, in their oldest annals, mention not at all. And because the time of this battle, by any who could do more than guess, is not set-down, or any foundation given from whence

\* Malmsb. l. 1. c. 62. † Post Christ, 519.

‡ Sax. ann. omni. 527.

Kerdic takes the title of king of the West-Saxons in the year A. D. 519.

He fights a great battle with the Britains at Kerdic's leage. A. D. 527.



to draw a solid compute, it cannot be much wide to insert it in this place. For such authors as we have to follow give the conduct and praise of this exploit to Arthur; and that this was the last of twelve great battles, which he fought victoriously against the Saxons. The several places written by Nennius in their Welch names\* were many hundred years ago unknown, and so are here omitted. But who Arthur was, and whether ever any such person reigned in Britain, hath been doubted heretofore, and may again with good reason. For the monk of Malmsbury, and others, whose credit hath swayed most with the learned sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this Arthur five hundred years past, nor of his doings, than we now living; and what they had to say, transcribed out of Nennius, (a very trivial writer yet extant,) which hath already been related; or out of a British book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur, of whom (as Sigebert in his chronicle confesses) all other histories were silent, both foreign and domestic, except only that fabulous book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old legends and cathedral regests. But he who can accept of legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnished with two only necessities, leisure and belief; whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to Arthur, no less is in doubt who was his father; for if it be true, as Nennius, or his notist, avers, that Arthur was called Mab-Uther, that is to say, a cruel son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a child, (and the intent of his name Arturus imports as much,) it might well be that some in after-ages, who sought to turn him into a fable, wrested the word Uther into a proper name, and so feigned him the son of Uther; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person lived till Geoffrey of Monmouth set him off with the surname of Pendragon. And, as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that victory at Badon-hill were his or no, is uncertain; Gildas not naming him, as he did Am-

There is great reason to doubt the truth of all the stories about king Arthur.

\* Nenn.

brose in the former. Next, if it be true, as Caradoc relates \*, that Melvas, king of that country, which is now called Somerset, kept from him Gueniver, his wife, a whole year in the town of Glaston, and restored her at the entreaty of Gildas, rather than for any enforcement that Arthur, with all his chivalry, could make against a small town defended only by a moory situation; had either his knowledge in war, or the force he had to make, been answerable to the fame they bear, that petty king would not have dared to put such an affront upon him, nor he have been so long, and at last without effect, in revenging it. Considering, lastly, how the Saxons gained upon him every where all the time of his supposed reign, which began, as some write†, in the tenth year of Kerdic, who wrung from him by long war the countries of Somerset and Hampshire; there will remain neither place nor circumstance in story, which may administer any likelihood of any of those great acts, that are ascribed to him. † This only is alleged by Nennius in Arthur's behalf, that the Saxons, though vanquished never so oft, grew still more numerous upon him by continual supplies out of Germany: And the truth is, that valour may be overtoiled, and overcome at last with endless overcoming. But, as for this battle of mount Badon, where the Saxons were hemmed-in, or besieged, whether by Arthur won, or whensoever, it seems indeed to have given a most undoubted and important blow to the Saxons, and to have stopped their proceedings for a good while after, Gildas himself witnessing, that the Britains having thus compelled them to sit-down with peace, fell thereupon to civil discord among themselves. Which words may seem to let-in some light towards the searching-out when this battle was fought. And we shall find no time since the first Saxon war, from whence a longer peace ensued, than from the fight at Kerdic's Leage, in the year five hundred and twenty-seven, which all the chronicles mention, without victory to Kerdic; and give us argument, from the custom they have of magnifying

Of the battle of Badon-hill, in which the Saxons were defeated by the Britains. Probably in the year A. D. 527.

\* Caradoc. Llancarvon. vit. Gild.  
Post Christ. 529.

† Malms. Antiquit. Glaston.  
‡ Primord. p. 468. Polychronic. l. 5. c. 6.

their

their own deeds upon all occasions, to presume here his ill speeding. And, if we look still onward, even to the forty-fourth year after, wherein Gildas wrote, if his obscure utterance be understood, we shall meet with every little war between the Britains and Saxons. \* This only remains difficult, that the victory first won by Ambrose was not so long before this at Badon siege, but that the same men living might be eye-witnesses of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by Arthur, unless we reckon him a grown youth at least in the days of Ambrose, and much more than a youth, if Malmsbury be heard, who affirms all the exploits of Ambrose to have been done chiefly by Arthur as his general, which will add much unbelief to the common assertion of his reigning after Ambrose and Uther, especially the fight of Badon being the last of his twelve battles. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at Kerdic's Leage, though it differ in name from that of Badon, may be thought the same by all effects; Kerdic, three years after†, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns-back his forces on the Isle of Wight; which, with the slaying of a few only in Withgarburgh, he soon masters; and, not long surviving, left it to his nephews by the mother's side, Stuff and Withgar‡: the rest of what he had subdued, Kenric his son held; and reigned twenty-six years, in whose tenth year§ Withgar was buried in the town of that island which bore his name. Notwithstanding all these unlikelihoods of Arthur's reign and great atchievements, in a narration crept-in, I know not how, among the laws of Edward the Confessor, Arthur, the famous king of Britains, is said not only to have expelled hence the Saracens, (who were not then known in Europe,) but to have conquered Friesland, and all the North east isles as far as Russia, to have made Lapland the eastern bound of his empire, and Norway the chamber of Britain. When should this be done? From the Saxons, till after twelve battles, he had no rest at home; after those, the Britains contented with the quiet they had from their Saxon enemies, were so far

It seems probable that it was the same with the battle of Kerdic's leage, though under a different name.

Death of Kerdic.  
A. D. 531.

\* Gildas, † Post Christ 530. Sax. an. omn. ‡ Post Christ. 534.  
§ Post Christ. 544.

from

from seeking conquests abroad; that, by the report of Gildas above-cited, they fell to civil wars at home. Surely Arthur would have done much better to have made war in old Saxony, to repress their flowing hither, than to have won kingdoms as far as Russia, when he was scarce able here to defend his own. Buchanan, our neighbour historian, reprehends him of Monmouth, and others, for fabling in the deeds of Arthur; yet what he writes there of himself, as of better credit, shows not whence he had it but from those fables; which he seems content to believe in part, on condition that the Scots and Picts may be thought to have assisted Arthur in all his wars and achievements; whereof appears as little ground by credible story, as of that which he most counts fabulous. But, not further to contest about such uncertainties, I will now go on with the history.

Ida, the Saxon, takes the title of king of Bernicia in Northumberland. A. D. 547.

In the year five hundred and forty-seven \*, Ida the Saxon, sprung also from Woden in the tenth degree, began the kingdom of Bernicia in Northumberland: built the town Bebenburgh, which was after walled; and had twelve sons, half by wives and half by concubines. Hengist, by leave of Vortigern, we may remember, had sent Octave and Ebissa, to seek them seats in the North, and there, by warring on the Picts, to secure the southern parts. Which they so prudently effected, that, what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted those countries; and, though so far distant from Kent, nor without power in their hands, yet kept themselves nigh a hundred and eighty years within moderation; and, as inferior governours, they and their offspring gave obedience to the kings of Kent, as to the elder family. Till at length following the example of that age, when no less than kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate commander, they thought it but reason, as well as others of their nation, to assume royalty. Of whom Ida was the first †, a man in the prime of his years, and of parentage such as we have heard; but how he came to wear the crown, whether by his own aspiring ambition, or by the free choice of his followers, or subjects, is not said. Certain enough it is, that his virtues made him not less noble than his birth;

\* Post Christ. 547. Annal. oïnn. Bed. Epit. Malmsb.

† Malms.



in war undaunted and unfoiled; in peace tempering the awe of magistracy with a natural mildness: he reigned about twelve years. \* In the mean while Kenric in a fight at Searesbirig, now Salisbury, killed and put to flight many of the Britains; and the fourth year after at Beranvirig †, now Banbury; as some think, with Keaulin his son, put them again to flight. Keaulin shortly after succeeded his father in the West-Saxons. And Alla, descended also of Woden, but of another line, set up a second kingdom in Deira, the South part of Northumberland ‡; and held it thirty years; while Adda, the son of Ida, and five more after him reigned without other memory in Bernicia: and in Kent, Ethelburt the next year began §. But Esca the son of Hengist had left Otha, and he Emeric to rule after him; both which, without adding to their bounds, kept what they had in peace fifty-three years. ¶ But Ethelbert in length of reign equalled both the progenitors, and as Beda counts, three years exceeded. || Young at his first entrance, and unexperienced, he was the first raiser of civil war among the Saxons; claiming from the priority of time wherein Hengist took possession here, a kind of right over the later kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to their confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadful, became almost contemptible. For Keaulin and Cutha his son, pursuing him into his own territory ¶, slew there in battle; at Wibbandun, two of his earls, Oslac and Cneban. By this means the Britains, but chiefly by this victory at Badon for the space of forty-four years, ending in five hundred and seventy-one, received no great annoyance from the Saxons: but the peace they enjoyed, by ill using it, proved more destructive to them than war. For being raised on a sudden by two such eminent successes, from the lowest condition of thralldom, they whose eyes had beheld both those deliverances, that by Ambrose and this at Badon, were taught by the experi-

Alla, the Saxon, takes the title of king of Deira in the South part of Northumberland. A. D. 560.

\* Post Christ. 552. *Annal. omn.*  
† Post Christ. 560. *Annal. Florent.*  
‡ *Aun. omn.* Post Christ. 569.

§ Post Christ. 553. *Camden.*  
|| *Post Christ. 561.* || *Malm.*



ence of either fortune, both kings, magistrates, priests, and private men; to live orderly. But when the next age\*, unacquainted with past evils, and only sensible of their present ease and quiet, succeeded, straight followed the apparent subversion of all truth, and justice, in the minds of most men: scarce the least footstep, or impression of goodness left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the land; except in some so very few, as to be hardly visible in a general corruption: which grew in short space not only manifest, but odious to all the neighbouring nations. and first their kings, amongst whom also the sons and grandchildren of Ambrose were foully degenerated to all tyranny and vicious life. Whereof to hear some particulars out of Gildas, will not be impertinent. They avenge, saith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they swear oft, but perjure; they wage war, but civil and unjust war. They punish rigorously them that rob by the highway; but those grand robbers, that sit with them at table, they honour and reward. They give alms largely, but in the face of their alms-deeds, pile up wickedness to a far higher heap. They sit in the seat of judgement, but go seldom by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modest and harmless, but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominable crimes; they stuff their prisons, but with men committed rather by circumvention than any just cause. Nothing better were the clergy, but at the same pass, or rather worse than when the Saxons came first in; unlearned, unapprehensive, yet imprudent; subtle prowlers, pastors in name, but indeed wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the flock, but to pamper and well-line themselves: not called, but seizing on the ministry as a trade, not as a spiritual charge; teaching the people not by sound doctrine, but by evil example; usurping the chair of Peter, but, through the blindness of their own worldly lusts, they stumble upon the seat of Judas; deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies; looking on the poor christian with eyes of pride and contempt; but fawning on the

\* Gildas,

wickedest

Gildas's description of the vicious and corrupt manners of the Britains, from A. D. 527 to A. D. 571.

\* and particularly of their Clergy.

wickedest rich men without shame: great promoters of other men's alms, with their set exhortations; but themselves contributing ever least: slightly touching the many vices of the age, but preaching without end their own grievances, as done to Christ; seeking after preferments and degrees in the church, more than after Heaven; and so gained, made it their whole study how to keep them by any tyranny. Yet lest they should be thought things of no use in their eminent places, they have their niceties and trivial points to keep in awe the superstitious multitude; but in true saving knowledge leave them still as gross and stupid as themselves; bunglers at the scripture, nay, forbidding and silencing them that know; but in worldly matters, practised and cunning shifters; in that only art and simony great clerks and masters, bearing their heads high, but their thoughts abject and low. He taxes them also as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily drunkards. And what shouldst thou expect from these, poor laity, (so he goes on,) these beasts, all belly? Shall these amend thee; who are themselves laborious in evil doings? Shalt thou see with their eyes, who see right-forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, lest ye fall both blindfold into the same perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly. But what availed it Eli to be himself blameless, while he connived at others that were abominable? Who of them hath been envied for his better life? Who of them hath hated to consort with these, or withstood their entering the ministry, or endeavoured zealously their casting out? Yet some of these perhaps by others are legended for great saints. This was the state of government, this of religion among the Britains, in that long calm of peace, which the fight at Badon-hill had brought forth. Whereby it came to pass, that so fair a victory came to nothing. Towns and cities were not re-inhabited, but lay ruined and waste; nor was it long ere domestic war breaking-out wasted them more.

The Britains had several kings in different parts of the Island; many of whom were very wicked men.

For Britain \*, as at other times, had then also several

\* Primord. p. 444.

kings : five of whom Gildas, living then in Armorica at a safe distance, boldly reproves by name : first, Constantine, (fabled the son of Cador, duke of Cornwall, Arthur's half-brother, by the mother's side,) who then reigned in Cornwall and Devon : a tyrannical and bloody king, polluted also with many adulteries : he got into his power two young princes of the blood royal, uncertain whether before him in right, or otherwise suspected ; and after solemn oath given of their safety the year that Gildas wrote, slew them with their two governors in the church, and in their mother's arms, through the abbot's cope which he had thrown over them, thinking by the reverence of vesture to have withheld the murderer. These are commonly supposed to be the sons of Mordred, Arthur's nephew, said to have revolted from his uncle, giving him in a battle his death's wound, and by him after to have been slain. Which things, were they true, would much diminish the blame of cruelty in Constantine, revenging Arthur on the sons of so false a Mordred.

In another part of Britain, but it is not expressed where, Aurelius Conan was king : him he charges also with adulteries, and parricide ; cruelties worse than the former ; to be a hater of his country's peace, thirsting after civil war and prey. His condition, it seems, was not very prosperous, for Gildas wished him, (being now left alone, like a tree withering in the midst of a barren field,) to remember the vanity and arrogance of his father, and eldest brethren, who came all to untimely death in their youth.

The third reigning in Demetia, or South Wales, was Vortipor, the son of a good father ; he was, when Gildas wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in adulteries ; and in governing, full of falsehood and cruel actions. In his latter days, putting-away his wife, who died in divorce, he became, if we mistake not Gildas, incestuous with his daughter.

The fourth was Cuneglas, imbrued in civil war ; he also had divorced his wife, and taken her sister, who had vowed widowhood : he was a great enemy to the clergy, high-minded, and trusting to his wealth.

The last, but greatest of all in power, was Maglocune, and

and greatest also in wickedness: he had driven-out, or slain, many other kings, or tyrants, and was called the Island Dragon, perhaps having his seat in Anglesey; the profuse giver, a great warrior, and of a goodly stature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his uncle, though in the head of a complete army, and took from him the kingdom: then touched with the remorse of his doings, not without deliberation, took upon him the profession of a monk; but soon forsook his vow, and his wife also; (which for that vow he had left,) making love to the wife of his brother's son then living. Who, not refusing the offer, if she were not rather the first that enticed, found means both to dispatch her own husband, and the former wife of Maglocune, to make her marriage with him the more unquestionable. Neither did he this for want of better instructions, having had the learnedest and wisest man, reputed, of all Britain, for the instituter of his youth.

Thus much, the utmost that can be learnt by truer story, of what past among the Britains from the time of their useless victory at Badon, to the time that Gildas wrote,—that is to say, as may be guessed, from the year of Christ five hundred and twenty-seven to the year five hundred and seventy-one,—is here set-down all together, not being capable of being reduced under any certainty of years.

But now the Saxons, (who, for the most part, all this while had been still, unless among themselves,) began afresh to assault them, and ere long to drive them out of all which they had maintained on this side Wales. For Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin\*, by a victory obtained at Bedanford, now Bedford, took from them four good towns, Liganburgh, Eglesburgh, Bensington, now Benson, in Oxfordshire, and Ignesham; but outlived not many months his good success. And after six years more†, Keaulin, and Cuthwin his son, gave them a great overthrow at Deorham in Gloucestershire, slew three of their kings, Comal, Condidan, and Farinmaile; and took three of their chief cities, Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bedencester. The Britains notwithstanding,

The Saxons renew their assaults upon the Britains. A. D. 571.

\* Post Christ, 571. Camden, *Annal. omn.*

† Post Christ, 577.



after some space of time\*, judging to have outgrown their losses, gather to a head and encounter Keaulin, with Cutha his son, at Fethanleage; whom valiantly fighting they flew among the thickest, and, as is said, forced the Saxons to retire. † But Keaulin, reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout; and following his advantage, took many towns, and returned laden with rich booty.

The last of those Saxons, who raised their own achievements to a monarchy, was Crida, much about this time, first founder of the Mercian kingdom‡, drawing also his pedigree from Woden. Of whom all to write the several genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were in my opinion to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose. § This may suffice, that of Woden's three sons, from the eldest issued Hengist, and his succession; from the second, the kings of Mercia; from the third, all that reigned in West-Saxony, and most of the Northumbers, of whom Alla was one, the first king of Deira; which, after his death, the race of Ida seized, and made it one kingdom with Bernicia||, usurping the childhood of Edwin, Alla's son; whom Ethelric, the son of Ida, expelled. Notwithstanding others write of him, that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old age, coming to the crown, he could hardly, by the access of a kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his son preserved him. Once more the Britains¶, ere they quitted all on this side the mountains, forgot not to show some manhood; for meeting Keaulin at Woden's-beorth, that is to say, at Woden's-mount in Wiltshire\*\*; whether it were by their own forces, or assisted by the Angles, whose hatred Keaulin had incurred, they ruined the whole army, and chased them out of his kingdom; from whence flying, he died the next year in poverty, who a little before was the most potent, and indeed sole king of all the Saxons on this side Humber. But who was chief among the Britains in this exploit had been worth

Crida, the Saxon, becomes king of Mercia.

Death of Keaulin, king of Wessex. A. D. 593.

\* Post Christ. 584.  
Huntingd. Matt. Westm.  
ann. Post Christ. 559.

† Huntingd.

‡ Malmsh. l. 1. c. 3.

§ The kingdom of Mercia.

|| Florent. ad

¶ Post Christ. 588. Annal. omn. \*\* Post Christ. 592. Florent. Bed. l. 2. c. 3. Malms. Florent. Sax. ann.

remembering,



remembering, whether it was Maglocune, of whose prowess hath been spoken, or Teudric king of Glamorgan, whom the regist of Landaff recounts to have been always victorious in fight; to have reigned about this time, and at length to have exchanged his crown for an hermitage; till in the aid of his son Mouric, whom the Saxons had reduced to extremes; taking arms again, he defeated them at Tenterne by the river Wye; but himself received a mortal wound.\* The same year with Keaulin, whom Keola the son of Cuthulf, Keaulin's brother, succeeded. Crida also the Mercian king deceased, in whose room Wibba succeeded; and in Northumberland, Ethelfrid, in the room of Ethelric, who had reigned there twenty-four years. Thus, omitting fables, we have the view of what with reason can be relied on for truth, done in Britain since the Romans forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many miseries and desolations brought by the divine hand on a perverse nation; driven, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair country, into a mountainous and barren corner, by strangers and pagans. So much more tolerable in the eye of Heaven is infidelity professed, than christian faith and religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounced their heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

He is succeeded by his nephew Keola.

\* Post Christ. 593.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

# THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

## THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE Saxons, grown-up now to seven absolute kingdoms, and the latest of them established by succession, finding their power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gained upon Britains, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leisure one another's greatness. Which quickly bred among them either envy or mutual jealousies; till the west kingdom, at length grown overpowerful, put an end to all the rest\*. Meanwhile, above others, Ethelbert of Kent, who by this time had well ripened his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in war, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains: and by degrees brought all the other monarchies between Kent and Humber to be at his devotion. To which design the kingdom of West Saxons, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shaken by their overthrow at Woden's-beorth, and the death of Keaulin, gave him, no doubt, a main advantage; the rest yielded not subjection, but as he earned it by continual victories. † And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries Birtha the French king's daughter, though a christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her faith, under the care and instruction of Letardus a bishop, sent by her parents along with her; the king notwithstanding and his people retaining their old religion. ‡ Beda, out of Gildas, lays it sadly to the Britains' charge, that they never would vouchsafe their Saxon neighbours the means of conversion; but how far to blame they were §, and what hope there was of con-

\* Bed. Malm.

† Bed. l. 1. c. 25.

‡ Bed. l. c. 22.

§ Bed. l. 2. c. 1.

Ethelbert, king of Kent, becomes the most powerful of the Saxon kings.

He marries Birtha,\* the daughter of the king of France.

verting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falsehood; from their first arrival, is not now easy to determine. \* Howbeit, not long after they had the christian faith preached to them by a nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in Beda's time) upon this occasion.

The Northumbrians had a custom, at that time, and many hundred years after not abolished, to sell their children for a small value into any foreign land. Of which number two comely youths were brought to Rome, whose fair and honest countenances invited Gregory, archdeacon of that city, among others that beheld them, pitying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answered by some who stood by, that they were Angli of the province Deira, subjects to Alla king, of Northumberland; and by religion, Pagans. Which last Gregory deploring, framed on a sudden this allusion, to the three names he heard; that the Angli, so like to angels, should be snatched 'de irâ,' that is, from the wrath of God, to sing hallelujah: and, forthwith obtaining license of Benedict the pope, would have come and preached here among them, had not the Roman people, (whose love endured not the absence of so vigilant a pastor over them,) recalled him, then on his journey; though he did not abandon, but only deferred for a while, his pious intention. † For some years after, succeeding to the papal seat; and now in his fourth year, (admonished, saith Beda, by divine instinct,) he sent Augustin, whom he had designed for bishop of the English nation, and other zealous monks with him, to preach to them the gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some reports, or their own carnal fear, sent back Austin, in the name of all, to beseech Gregory they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel nation, whose tongue they understood not. Gregory, with pious and apostolic persuasion, exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheertully to go on in the strength of divine assistance. The letter itself, yet extant among our writers of ecclesiastic story, I omit

The first Introduction of the Christian Religion amongst the Saxons settled in Britain. A. D. 595.

\* Malms. l. i. c. 3.

† Post Christ. 596.

here,

Augustine, or Austin, a monk of Rome, with about 40 other monks, arrives at the Isle of Thanet in Kent. A. D. 597.

here, as not professing to relate of those matters more than what mixes aptly with civil affairs. The abbot Austin. (for so he was ordained over the rest.) re-encouraged by the exhortations of Gregory. and his fellows by the letter which he brought them, came safe to the isle of Thanet\*, in number about forty, besides some of the French nation, whom they took along as interpreters. Ethelbert the king, to whom Austin at his landing had sent a new and wondrous message, "that he came from Rome to proffer Heaven and eternal happiness in the knowledge of another God than the Saxons knew," appoints them to remain where they had landed, and necessities to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And, after certain days, coming into the island, chose a place to meet them under the open sky, possessed with an old persuasion, that all spells, if they should use any to deceive him, so it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They, on the other side, called to his presence, advancing for their standard a silver cross, and the painted image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing their solemn litanies: which wrought in Ethelbert more suspicion perhaps that they used enchantments; till, sitting down as the king willed them, they there preached to him, and all in that assembly, the tidings of salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the king thus answered: "Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearance in them of much good; yet such as, being new and uncertain, I cannot easily assent to, quitting the religion which my ancestors; with all the English nation, so many years I have retained. Nevertheless, because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I persuade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure, we shall not recompense you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid you to gain whom ye can, by preaching, to your belief." And accordingly their residence he allotted them in Do-

They, soon after, are settled in Canterbury.

\* Post Christ. 597.

roverne, or Canterbury, his chief city, and made provision for their maintenance, with free leave to preach their doctrine where they pleased. By which, and by the example of their holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the king's, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the city on the east side, an ancient church built in honour of St. Martin, while yet the Romans remained here: in which Bertha the queen went out usually to pray: \* here they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise divine worship. But when the king himself, convinced by their good life and miracles, became christian, and was baptized, (which came to pass in the very first year of their arrival,) then multitudes daily, conforming to their prince, thought it an honour to be reckoned among those of his faith. To whom Ethelbert indeed principally showed his favour, but compelled none. † For so he had been taught by them who were both the instructors and authors of his faith, "that christian religion ought to be voluntary, not compelled." About this time Kelwulf, the son of Cutha, Keaulin's brother, reigned over the West-Saxons ‡, after his brother Keola or Kelric, and had continual war either with English, Welsh, Picts, or Scots. § But Austin, whom with his fellows Ethelbert had now endowed with a better place for their abode in the city, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into France, was by the archbishop of Arles, at the appointment of pope Gregory, ordained archbishop of the English; and returning, sent to Rome Laurence and Peter, two of his associates, to acquaint the pope of his good success in England, and to be resolved of certain theological, or, rather, levitical, questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, Gregory sends also to the great work of converting, that went-on so happily, a supply of labourers, Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, Rufinian, and many others; who what they were, may be guessed by the stuff which they

King Ethelbert becomes a Christian, with many of his subjects.

The Pope, Gregory the 1st, appoints Austin Archbishop of the English nation.

\* Post Christ. 598.  
Post Christ. 601.

† Bed. l. 2. c. 5.  
§ Bed. l. 1. c. 27.

‡ Sax. ann. Malm.

brought



brought with them; vessels and vestments for the altar, copes, reliques, and, for the archbishop Austin, a pall to say mass in: to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal. Lastly, to Ethelbert they brought a letter with many presents. Austin, thus exalted to archiepiscopal authority, recovered from the ruins and other profane uses a Christian church in Canterbury, built of old by the Romans, which he dedicated by the name of Christ's-church, and, joining to it, built a seat for himself and his successors; a monastery also near the city eastward, where Ethelbert, at his motion, built St. Peter's, and enriched it with great endowments; to be a place of burial for the archbishops and kings of Kent: so quickly did they step-up into fellowship of pomp with kings.

Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, defeats Edan, king of Scotland. A. D. 608.

\* While thus Ethelbert and his people had their minds intent on religion, Ethelfrid, the Northumbrian king, was not less busied in far different affairs: for, being altogether warlike, and covetous of fame, he more wasted the Britains than any Saxon king before him; winning from them large territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own subjects. † Whence Edan, king of those Scots that dwell in Britain, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty army, to a place called Degsastan; but in the fight losing most of his men, himself with a few escaped: only Theobald the king's brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, being unfortunately cut-off, made the victory to Ethelfrid less intire. Yet from that time no king of Scots in hostile manner durst pass into Britain for a hundred and more years after: and what, some years before, Kelwulf the West-Saxon is annaled to have done against the Scots, and Picts, passing through the land of Ethelfrid a king so potent, unless in his aid and alliance, is not likely. Buchanan writes as if Ethelfrid, assisted by Keaulin (whom he mis-titles king of East-Saxons,) had a battle before this time, with Aidan, wherein Cutha, Keaulin's son, was slain. But Cutha, as above written from better

\* Bed. l. 2, c. 34.

† Post Christ. 603.

authority,

authority, was slain in fight against the Welsh twenty years before.

\* The number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that Augustin, ordaining bishops, under him, two of his assistants, Mellitus and Justus, sent them out both to the work of their ministry. And Mellitus by preaching converted the East Saxons, over whom Sebert, the son of Sleda, by permission of Ethelbert, (being born of his sister Ricula,) then reigned. Whose conversion Ethelbert to gratulate, built them the great church of St. Paul in London to be their bishop's cathedral; as Justus also had his built at Rochester, and both gifted by the same king with fair possessions.

Many of the people in Essex are converted to the Christian religion.

Hitherto Austin laboured well among infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among christians. For by means of Ethelbert summoning the Britain bishops to a place on the edge of Worcestershire, called from that time Augustin's oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of celebrating Easter, and many other points wherein they differed from the rites of Rome: which when they refused to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a miracle, restoring to sight a blind man whom the Britains could not cure. At this something moved, though not minded to recede from their own opinions without further consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven Britain bishops, with many other learned men, especially from the famous monastery of Bangor, in which were said to be so many monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest, who went: being demanded, for they held him as an oracle,) how they might know Austin to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answered, "that, if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him: for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but, if he bore

A dispute between the Arch-bishop of the Saxon Christians and the Bishops of the British Christians.

\* Post Christ. 604. Bed. l. 2. c. 8.

himself

The British Bishops  
refuse to acknow-  
ledge Austin as their  
Arch-bishop.

himself proudly, that they should not regard him; for he was then certainly not of God." They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom Austin, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor received them in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his chair. Whereat the Britains, as they were counselled by the holy man, neglected him, and neither hearkened to his proposals of conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an archbishop: and in the name of the rest \*, Dinotus, then abbot of Bangor, is said thus sagely to have answered him: "As to the subjection which you require, be thus persuaded of us, that in the bond of love and charity we are all subjects and servants to the church of God, yea, to the pope of Rome, and every good christian, to help them forward, both by word and deed, to be the children of God: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are governed under God by the bishop of Caerleon, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters." To which Austin thus presaging, some say menacing, replies, "Since ye refuse to accept of peace with our brethren, ye shall have war from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the word of life to whom ye ought, from their hands ye shall receive death." † This, (though writers agree not whether Austin spake is as his prophesy, or as his plot against the Britains,) fell-out accordingly. ‡ For many years were not past, when Ethelfrid, (whether of his own accord, or at the request of Ethelbert, incensed by Austin,) with a powerful host came to West-chester, then called Caer-legion. Where being met by the British forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for war, standing together in a place of some safety; and by them a squadron armed. Whom having learnt upon some inquiry to be priests and monks, assembled thither after three days fasting, to pray for the good success of their forces

Ethelfrid, king of  
Northumberland,  
makes war upon the  
Britains near West-  
chester, and defeats  
them in a great bat-  
tle, A. D. 607.

\* Spelman. Concil. p. 108.

† See Henry Care's History of Popery, vol. 1. pages 97, 98, 99, &c. 102.

‡ Sax. ann. Hunting. Post Christ. 607.

against

against him, "therefore they first," saith he, "shall feel our swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by their prayers, and are our most dangerous enemies." And with that turns his first charge upon the monks: Brocmail, the captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above twelve hundred monks to a sudden massacre, whereof scarce fifty escaped. But not so easy work found Ethelfrid against another part of Britains that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet it was with slaughter nearly as great of his own soldiers. To excuse Austin of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, Beda writes, that he was dead long before; although, if the time of his sitting archbishop be rightly computed to have been sixteen years, he must have survived this action. \* Other just ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose weight we know.

Near 1200 British priests and monks from a great monastery at Bangor, though unarmed, are therein put to death by the Saxons.

† The same year Kelwulf made war on the South Saxons; bloody, saith Huntingdon, to both sides, but most to them of the south: ‡ and four years after dying, left the government of the West-Saxons to Kinegils and Cuicelm, the sons of his brother Keola. Others, as Florent of Worcester, and Matthew of Westminster, will have Cuicelm to have been the son of Kinegils, but admitted to reign with his father, in whose third year § they are recorded, with joint forces or conduct, to have fought against the Britains in Beandune, now Bindon in Dorsetshire, and to have slain of them about two thousand. || More memorable was the second year following, by the death of Ethelbert, the first christian king of Saxons, and no less a favourer of all civility in that rude age. He gave laws and statutes after the example of Roman Emperors, which were written with the advice of his wisest counsellors, but in the English tongue, and were observed long after. Wherein his special care was to punish those who had stolen aught from church or churchman, thereby shewing how gratefully he received at their hands the chris-

Death of Kelwulf, king of the West Saxons. A. D. 611.

Death of Ethelbert, king of Kent. A. D. 616.

\* Malms. gest. pont. l. 1.  
Sax. ann. Malms.  
616. Sax. ann.

† Sax. ann.  
§ Post Christ. 611. Camd.

‡ Post Christ. 611.  
|| Post Christ.



Death of Sebert,  
first Christian king  
of Essex.

tian faith. Which, he no sooner dead, but his soft Eadbald took the course as fast to extinguish; not only falling-back into heathenism, but that which heathenism was wont to abhor, marrying his father's second wife. Then soon was perceived what multitudes for fear or countenance of the king had professed christianity; returning now as eagerly to their old religion. Nor staid the apostacy within one province, but quickly spread over to the East Saxons; occasioned there likewise, or set-forward, by the death of their christian king Sebert: whose three sons, (of whom two are named Sexted and Seward\*,) refused in his life-time to be brought to baptism, and after his decease re-established the free exercise of idolatry; nor so content, they set themselves, in despite, to do some open profanation against the other sacrament of the Lord's supper. Coming therefore into the church where Mellitus, the bishop, was ministering, they required him, in abuse and scorn, to deliver to them, though they were unbaptized, the consecrated bread; and, upon his refusal to comply with their request, they drove him disgracefully out of their dominion: Who crossed forthwith into Kent, where things were in the same plight, and thence into France, with Justus, bishop of Rochester. But divine vengeance deferred not long the punishment of men so impious; for Eadbald, vexed with an evil spirit, fell often into foul fits of distraction; and the sons of Sebert, in a fight against the West-Saxons, perished with their whole army. But Eadbald, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For, when Lawrence, the archbishop and successor of Austin, was preparing to ship for France, after Justus and Mellitus, the story goes, if it be worth believing, that St. Peter, in whose church he spent the night before in watching and praying, appeared to him, and, to make the vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for offering to desert his flock; at sight whereof the king (to whom next morning he shewed the marks of what he had suffered, by whom, and for what cause,) relenting and in great fear, dissolved his incestuous marriage, and applied himself to the christian faith more sincerely than before, with all his

\* Malms.

people.



people. But the Londoners, addicted still to paganism, would not be persuaded to receive again Mellitus for their bishop; and to compel them was not in his power.

Thus much through all the south was troubled in religion; as much were the north parts disquieted through ambition. For Ethelfrid, king of Bernicia, as was touched before, having thrown Edwin out of Deira, and joined that kingdom to his own, not content to have bereaved him of his right, whose known virtues and high parts gave cause of suspicion to his enemies, sends messengers to demand him of Redwald, king of the East Angles; under whose protection, after many years wandering obscurely through all the island, he had placed his safety. Redwald, though he had promised all defence to Edwin as to his suppliant, yet, being tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of Ethelfrid, yielded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into their hands: but being earnestly exhorted by his wife, not to betray the faith and inviolable law of hospitality and refuge given †, he at last prefers his first promise, as the more religious; and not only refuses to deliver him up, but, since war was thereupon denounced, determines to be beforehand with the danger; and, with a sudden army raised, surprises Ethelfrid, little dreaming of an invasion, and in a fight near to the east side of the river Idle, on the Mercian border, now Nottinghamshire, slays him ‡, dissipating easily those few forces which he had got to march out overhastily with him; who yet, as a testimony of his fortune, not his valour, to be blamed, slew first with his own hands Reiner the king's son. His two sons Oswald and Oswi, by Acca, Edwin's sister, escaped into Scotland. By this victory Redwald became so far superiour to the other Saxon kings, that Beda reckons him the next after Ella and Ethelbert; who, besides this conquest of the north, had likewise all on the hither side of the Humber at his obedience. He had formerly in Kent received baptism §; but, coming home, and being persuaded by his wife; (who still, it seems, was his chief counsellor,

A war breaks out between Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, and Redwald, king of East Anglia.

Ethelfrid is killed in a battle in Nottinghamshire.

\* Post Christ. 617.

† Malms. l. 1. c. 3.  
§ Bed. l. 2. c. 15.

‡ Camden.

Edwin becomes king of Northumberland, and marries Edelburga, daughter of the late christian king of Kent, Ethelbert.

to good or bad alike,) relapsed into his old religion: yet, not willing to forego his new, thought it not the worst way; lest perhaps he might err in either, for more assurance, to keep them both; and in the same temple erected one altar to Christ, and another to his idols. But Edwin, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retained, the christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; subduing all, saith Beda, English or British, even to the isles, then called Mevanian, Anglesey, and Man; settled in his kingdom by Redwald, he sought in marriage Edelburga, whom others call Tate, the daughter of Ethelbert. To whose ambassadors Eadbald, her brother, made answer, that "to wed their daughter to a pagan, was not the Christian law." Edwin replied, that "to her religion he would be no hindrance, which, with her whole household, she might freely exercise. And moreover, that, if, when examined, it were found the better, he would embrace it." These ingenuous offers, opening so fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted\*, and Paulinus, as a spiritual guardian, is sent along with the virgin. He, being to that purpose made bishop by Justus, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts, but with small success, till the next year† Cuichelm, at that time one of the two West-Saxon kings, envious of the greatness which he saw Edwin growing-up to, sent privily Eumerus, a hired swordsman, to assassinate him; who, under pretence of doing a message from his master, with a poisonous weapon stabs at Edwin, conferring with him in his house, by the river Derwent in Yorkshire, on an Easter-day; which Lilla, one of the king's attendants at the instant perceiving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandoned his whole body to the blow: which notwithstanding made passage through to the king's person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompassed now with swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his poniard reached home. Paulinus, omitting no opportunity to win the king from misbelief, obtained

\* Post Christ. 625.

† Post Christ. 626.

at length this promise from him; that, if Christ, whom he so magnified, would give him to recover of his wound, and victory of his enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young daughter Eanfled, to be bred-up in religion; who, with twelve others of his family, on the day of Pentecost was baptized. And by that time well recovered of his wound, to punish the author of so foul a fact, he went with an army against the West-Saxons; whom having quelled by war, and of such as had conspired against him, put some to death, and pardoned others, he returned home victorious, and from that time worshipped no more his idols; yet ventured not rashly into baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly in what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though Boniface the pope, by large letters of exhortation both to him and his queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But, while he still deferred, and his deferring might seem now to have passed the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingering, Paulinus by revelation, as was believed, coming to the knowledge of a secret which befel him strangely, in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the king, asked him if he remembered what that sign meant; the king trembling, and in amaze rising-up, straight fell at his feet. "Behold," saith Paulinus, raising him from the ground, "God hath delivered you from your enemies, and given you the kingdom, as you desired: perform now what long since you promised him, to receive his doctrine, which I now bring you, and the faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity add eternal." The promise claimed of him by Paulinus, how and wherefore made, though savouring much of legend, is thus related. Redwald, as we heard before, dazzled with the gold of Ethelfrid, or by his threatening overawed, having promised to yield-up Edwin, one of his faithful companions, of which he had some few with him in the court of Redwald, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in haste to his chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy,

K 2

reveals

reveals to him his danger, offers him his aid to make his escape; but, that course not being approved, (as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long been his only refuge,) the friend departs. Edwin, left alone without the palace-gate, full of sadness and perplexed thoughts, discerns about the dead of night a man, neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who, after salutation, asked him, "why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold stone." Edwin, not a little misdoubting who he might be, asked him again, "what his sitting, within doors, or without, concerned him to know." To whom he again, "Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: but what would you promise to that man, whoever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and persuade Redwald to the like?" "All that I am able," answered Edwin. And he, "What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any English king hath been before you?" "I should not doubt," quoth Edwin, "to be answerably grateful." "And what if to all this he would inform you," said the other, "in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your ancestors hath known? would you hearken to his counsel?" Edwin, without stopping, promised "he would." And the other laying his right hand on Edwin's head, "When this sign," saith he, "shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promised;" and with these words disappearing, he left Edwin much revived, but not less filled with wonder, who this unknown person should be. When suddenly the friend who had been gone all this while to listen further what was like to be decreed of Edwin, comes back and joyfully bids him rise to his repose; for that the king's mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolved not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all enemies, as he had promised. This was said to be the cause why Edwin, admonished by the bishop of a sign which had befallen him so strangely, and, as he thought, so secretly, arose to him with that reverence



verence and amazement, as to one sent from Heaven, to claim that promise of him which he perceived well, was due to a divine power, that had assisted him in his troubles. To Paulinus therefore he makes answer, that the christian belief he himself ought by promise, and intended to receive; but would confer first with his chief peers and counsellors, that, if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptized. They therefore being asked in council what their opinion was concerning the new doctrine, and well perceiving which way the king inclined, every one thereafter shaped his reply. The chief priest, speaking first, discovered an old grudge, he had against his gods, for advancing others in the king's favour above him their chief priest: another hiding his court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choice of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answered all the rest of his sages, none openly dissenting from what was likely to be the king's creed: whereas the preaching of Paulinus could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon Edwin, renouncing heathenism, became christian: and the pagan priest, offering himself freely to demolish the altars of his former gods, made some amends for his teaching, to adore them. \* With Edwin, his two sons Osfrid and Eanfrid, born to him by Quen-burga, daughter, as saith Beda, of Kearnle king of Mercia, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the people, both nobles and commons, easily converted, were baptized; he with his whole family at York, in a church hastily built-up of wood, the multitude, most part, in rivers. Northumberland thus christened, Paulinus, crossing the river Humber, converted also the province of Lindsey, and Blecca the governor of Lincoln, with his household and most of that city; wherein he built a church of stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the roof in Beda's time, (uncertain whether by neglect or by enemies) was down; the walls only standing. Meanwhile in Mercia, Kearnle, (a kinsman of Wibba, saith Huntingdon, not a son,) having long with-

Edwin, and most of his subjects in Northumberland, embrace the christian religion. A. D. 627.

\* Post Christ. 627.



held the kingdom from Penda, Wibba's son; left it now at length to him in the fiftieth year of his age; with whom Kinegils and Cuichelm, the West-Saxon kings, two years after\* (having by that time, it seems, recovered strength, since the inroad made upon them by Edwin, fought at Cirencester,) then made a truce. But Edwin, seeking every way to propagate the faith, which with so much deliberation he had received, persuaded Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, king of East-Angles, to embrace the same belief†; willingly or in awe, is not known, retaining under Edwin the name only of a king‡. But Eorpwald, not long survived his conversion, having been slain in fight by Ricbert a pagan: whereby the people, having lightly followed the religion of their king, as lightly fell back to their old superstitions for above three years after: Edwin in the mean while, to his faith adding virtue, by the due administration of justice wrought such peace over all his territories, that from sea to sea man or woman might have travelled in safety. His care also was of fountains by the way-side, to make them fittest for the use of travellers. And, not unmindful of regal state, whether in war or in peace, he had a royal banner carried before him. But, having reigned with much honour seventeen years, he was at length by Kedwallay, or Cadwallon, king of the Britains, (who with aid of the Mercian Penda had rebelled against him,) slain in a battle with his son Osfrid, at a place called Hethfield, and his whole army overthrown or dispersed in the year six hundred and thirty three§, and the forty-seventh of his age, in the eye of man worthy a more peaceful end. His head brought to York was there buried in the church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to the church and state of the Northumbrians: for Penda being a heathen, and the British king, though in name a christian, yet in deeds more bloody than the pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the slaughter of sex or age; Kedwalla threatening to root-out the whole nation, though then newly christian. For the Britains; and, as

He is slain in a battle against Penda, king of Mercia, and Cadwallon, a British king. A. D. 633.

\* Post Christ. 629. Sax. ann.

† Florent Genealog.

‡ Post Christ. 632. Sax. ann.

§ Post Christ. 632.

Beda saith, even to his days, accounted Saxon christianity no better than paganism, and with them held as little communion.<sup>1</sup> From these calamities no refuge being left but flight, Paulinus taking with him Ethilburga the queen and her children, aided by Bassus, one of Edwin's captains, made escape by sea to Eadbald, king of Kent: who, receiving his sister with all kindness, made Paulinus bishop of Rochester, where he ended his days. After Edwin, the kingdom of Northumberland became divided as before, each rightful heir seizing his part; in Deira Osric, the son of Elfric, Edwin's uncle, by profession a christian, and baptized by Paulinus: in Bernicia, Eanfrid the son of Ethelfrid; who all the time of Edwin, with his brother Oswald, and many of the young nobility, lived in Scotland exiled, and had been there taught and baptized. No sooner had they gotten each a kingdom, but both turned recreant, sliding back into their old religion; and both were the same year slain; Osric by a sudden eruption of Kedwalla, whom he in a strong town had unadvisedly besieged; Eanfrid seeking peace, and inconsiderately with a few surrendering himself. Kedwalla now ranged at will through both those provinces, using cruelly his conquest\*; when Oswald, the brother of Eanfrid, with a small, but christian army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroyed both him and his huge forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little river running into Tine, near the ancient Roman wall then called Denisburn, the place afterwards called Heaven-field, from the cross (reported to be miraculous for cures,) which Oswald there erected before the battle, in token of his faith, against the great number of his enemies. Obtaining the kingdom he took care to instruct again the people in christianity. Sending therefore to the Scottish elders, (Beda so terms them,) among whom he had received baptism, he requested of them some faithful teacher, who might again settle religion in his realm, which the late troubles had much impaired; they, as readily hearkening to his request, send Aidan, a Scotch monk and bishop, but of singular zeal and

Paulinus is made bishop of Rochester.

The British king Cadwallon is defeated and slain in a great battle at Denisburn, or Heaven-field, by Oswald, king of Northumberland. A. D. 684.

Oswald sends for Aidan, a virtuous Scotch monk, and makes him bishop of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island.

\* Post Christ. 634.

meekness, with others to assist him, whom, at their own desire, he seated in Lindisfarne, as the episcopal seat, now Holy Island: and, being the son of Ethelfrid, by the sister of Edwin, as right heir, others failing, easily reduced both kingdoms of Northumberland, as before, into one; nor of Edwin's dominion lost any part, but enlarged it rather; over all the four British nations, Angles, Britains, Picts, and Scots, exercising regal authority. Of his devotion, humility, and alms-deeds, much is spoken; that he disdained not to be the interpreter of Aidan, preaching in Scotch or bad English, to his nobles and household servants; and had the poor continually served at his gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright; but the manner, more ancient, of private or of church-contribution is doubtless more evangelical.

The West-Saxons embrace the christian religion. A. D. 635.

\* About this time the West-Saxons, anciently called Gevissi, by the preaching of Berinus, a bishop, whom pope Honorius had sent, were converted to the faith with Kingils their king: him Oswald received out of the font, and his daughter in marriage. † The next year Cuichelm was baptized in Dorchester, but lived not to the year's end. The East-Angles also this year were reclaimed to the faith of Christ, which for some years past they had thrown off. But Sigebert, the brother of Eorpwald, now succeeded in that kingdom, praised for a most christian and learned man: who, while his brother yet reigned, living in France an exile, for some displeasure conceived against him by Redwald his father, learned there the christian faith; and reigning soon after, in the same instructed his people, by the preaching of Felix, a Burgundian bishop.

Eadbald, king of Kent, dies, and is succeeded by his son Ercombert. A. D. 640.

‡ In the year six hundred and forty Eadbald, deceasing, left to Ercombert, his son by Emma the French king's daughter, the kingdom of Kent; recorded the first of English kings, who commanned through his limits the destroying of idols; (laudably, if all idols without exception;) and the first to have established Lent among us, under strict penalty; not worth remembering, but only

\* Post Christ. 635. Sax, an. † Post Christ. 636. ‡ Post Christ. 640.

to inform us, that no Lent was observed here till his time by compulsion: especially being noted by some to have fraudulently usurped upon his elder brother Ermenred \*, whose right was precedent to the crown. Oswald having reigned eight years †, worthy, also, as might seem, of longer life, fell into the same fate with Edwin and from the same hand, in a great battle overcome and slain by Penda, at a place called Maserfield, now Oswestry in Shropshire ‡, miraculous, as saith Beda, after his death. § His brother Oswi succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty-eight years; opposed either by Penda, or his own son Alfred, or his brother's son Ethilwald. ¶ Next year Kinegils the West-Saxon king dying left his son Kenwalk in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time Sigebert, king of the East-Angles, having learnt in France, ere his coming to reign. the inanner of their schools, with the assistance of some teachers out of Kent, instituted a school here after the same discipline, thought to be the university of Cambridge, then first founded; and at length, weary of his kingly office, betook him to a monastical life; commending the care of government to his kinsman Egric, who had sustained with him part of that burden before. It happened some years after, that Penda made war on the East-Angles: They, expecting a sharp encounter, besought Sigebert, (whom they esteemed an expert leader,) with his presence to confirm the soldiery; and, upon his refusal, carried him by force out of the monastery into the camp; where, acting the monk rather than the captain with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with Egric, and his whole army put to flight. Anna, of the royal stock, as next in-right, succeeded; and has the praise of a virtuous and most christian prince. ¶ But Kenwalk, the West-Saxon, having married the sister of Penda, and divorced her, was by him, with more appearance of a just cause, vanquished in fight, and deprived of his crown: whence retiring to Anna, king of the East-Angles,

Death of Oswald,  
king of Northumber-  
land. A. D. 612.

Death of Kinegils,  
king of the West-  
Saxons. A. D. 643.

Death of Sigebert,  
king of the East-Au-  
gles.

\* Matt. West.  
§ Bed. l. 3. c. 14.  
Sax. an.

+ Post Christ. 642.  
¶ Post Christ. 643. Sax. an.

‡ Camden.  
¶ Post Christ. 645.



after three years abode in his court \* he there became christian, and afterwards regained his kingdom. Oswi in the former years of his reign had admitted to a share of the government with him Oswin, nephew of Edwin, who ruled in Deira seven years, who was commended much for his zeal in religion, and, for the comeliness of his person, with other princely qualities, was beloved of all. Notwithstanding which, dissensions growing between them, it came to arms. Oswin, seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the loyalty of Hunwald, an earl, his imagined friend, he was by him treacherously discovered, and by command of Oswi slain. † After whom within twelve days, and for grief of him whose death he foretold, died bishop Aidan, famous for his charity, meekness, and labour in the gospel. The fact of Oswi was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a monastery was built in the place where it was done, and prayers there daily offered-up for the souls of both kings, the slain and the slayer. Kenwalk, by this time re-installed in his kingdom, kept it long, but with various fortune; for Beda relates him oft-times afflicted by his enemies ‡, with great losses: and in six hundred and fifty-two, by the annals, fought a battle (civil war Ethelwerd calls it) at Bradan-ford by the river Afene: against whom, and for what cause, or who had the victory, they write not. Camden names the place Bradford in Wiltshire, by the river Avon, and Cuthred his near kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no authority: certain it is, that Kenwalk four years before had given large possessions to his nephew Cuthred, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebelled.

§ The next year Peada, whom his father Penda, though a heathen, had, for his princely virtues, made prince of Middle-Angles, belonging to the Mercians, was, with that people, converted to the faith. For coming to Oswi with request to have in marriage Alflæda his daughter,

Death of Bishop  
Aidan. A. D. 651.

The christian religion is preached in  
Mercia A. D. 653.

\* Post Christ. 648.  
c. 7: Post Christ. 632.

† Post Christ. 651. Bede.  
§ Post Christ. 663.

‡ Bed: l: 3.



he was denied her, but on condition that he, with all his people, should receive christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preached to him of resurrection and eternal life, much persuaded also by Alfrid the king's son, who had his sister Kyniburg to wife, he easily assented, for the truth's sake only as he professed, whether he obtained the virgin or no, and was baptized with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four presbyters to teach the people of his province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did Penda, though himself no believer, prohibit any in his kingdom to hear or believe the gospel, but rather hated and despised those, who, professing to believe, attested not their faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despised, who obey not that God, in whom they choose to believe. How well might Penda, this heathen, rise-up in judgment against many pretended christians, both of his own and these days! yet being a man bred up to war (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warred on Anna king of the East-Angles; (perhaps without cause: for Anna was esteemed a just man) and at length slew him.

Death of Anna, king  
of the East Angles.  
A. D. 654.

About this time the East-Saxons, who, as above hath been said, had expelled their bishop Mellitus, and renounced the faith, were, by the means of Oswi, thus reconverted. Sigebert, surnamed the small, being the son of Seward, without other memory of his reign, left his son king of that province, after him called Sigebert the second; who, coming often to visit Oswi his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from idolatry, and (being prevailed-on at length to forsake it,) was there baptized; on his return home taking with him Kadda, a laborious preacher, afterwards made a bishop; by whose teaching, with some help of others, the people were again recovered from misbelief. But Sigebert some years after, though standing fast in religion, was by the conspiracy of two brethren, in place near about him, wickedly murdered; who being asked, "What moved them

• Post Christ. 654. Sax. an.

to a deed so heinous," gave no other than this barbarous answer; "That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his enemies, as to forgive them their injuries whenever they besought him." Yet his death seems to have happened not without some cause by him given of divine displeasure. For one of those earls who slew him living in unlawful wedlock, and therefore excommunicated so severely by the bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his house, much less to sit at meat with him, the king, not regarding this church-censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his feet, touched with the rod in his hand, and angrily thus foretold: "Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the house of that excommunicate, in that house thou shalt die;" and so it fell-out, perhaps from that prediction, God bearing witness to his minister in the power of church-discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically, on the contemner thereof.

The Death of Penda,  
king of Mercias. A.  
D. 655.

This year \* 655 proved fortunate to Oswi, and fatal to Penda; for Oswi by the continual inroads of Penda having long endured much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire Bebbanburg †. his strongest city, (now Bamborow-castle,) unable to resist him, with many rich presents offered to buy his peace, which not accepted by the pagan ‡, who intended nothing but destruction to that king, though more than once in affinity with him, turning gifts into vows, he implores divine assistance, devoting, if he were delivered from his enemy, a child of one year old, his daughter, to be a nun, and twelve portions of land whereon to build monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his proffered gifts; for hereupon with his son Alfrid, gathering a small power, he encountered and discomfited the Mercians, thirty times exceeding his in number, and led-on by expert captains §, at a place called Laydes, now Leeds in Yorkshire. Besides this, Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, who ruled in Deira, took part with the

\* Post Christ, 655. † Bed. l. 3. c. 16. ‡ Camden. § Camden.

Mercians;

Mercians; but in the fight withdrew his forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable retreat the Mercians, perhaps terrified and misdoubting more danger, fled; many of their commanders, with Penda himself, being slain, among whom was Edilhere, the brother of Anna, who ruled after him the East-Angles, and was the author of this war; and many more flying were drowned in the river, which Beda calls Winwed, then swoln above its banks\*. The death of Penda, who had been the death of so many good kings, made general rejoicing, as the song witnessed: "At the river Winwed, Anna was avenged." To Edilhere succeeded Ethelwald his brother, in the East-Angles; to Sigebert in the East-Saxons, Suidhelm the son of Sexbald, saith Bede†, the brother of Sigebert, saith Malmsbury; he was baptized by Kedda, (then residing in the kingdom of the East-Angles.) and by Ethelwald, the king, received out of the font. But Oswi in the strength of his late victory, within †. three years after subdued all Mercia, and of the Pictish nation greatest part, at which time he gave to Peada, his son-in-law, the kingdom of South-Mercia, divided from the Northern by the river Trent. But Peada the spring following; as was said, by the treason of his wife, the daughter of Oswi, married by him for a special christian, on the feast of Easter§, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The Mercian nobles, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert, throwing off the government of Oswi, set-up Wulfer, the other son of Penda, to be their king, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the christian faith. Kenwalk the West-Saxon, now settled at home, and desirous to enlarge his dominion, prepares against the Britains, joins battle with them at Pen in Somersetshire, and overcoming, pursues them to Pedridan. Another fight he had with them before, at a place called Wiigeornesburg, barely mentioned by the monk of Malmsbury. Nor was it long ere he fell at variance with Wulfer the son of Penda, his old enemy, scarce yet warm in his throne, fought with him at Posentesburg, on the Easter holydays||, and, as Ethelwerd

Wulfer, a son of Penda, is chosen king of Mercia. A. D. 659.

\* Mat. West. † Bed. l. 3. c. 22.  
§ Post Christ. 659. Sax. ann.

† Post Christ. 658. Sax. ann.  
|| Post Christ. 661. Sax. ann.

saith,

saith, took him prisonet; but the Saxon annals, quite otherwise, say that Wulfer, winning the field, wasted the West-Saxon country as far as Eske-dun; and not staying there, took and wasted the Isle of Wight, but (causing the inhabitants to be baptized, who had till then been unbelievers,) gave the island to Ethelwald, king of the South-Saxons, whom he had received out of the font.

A Synod of Scottish and English bishops is held in Northumberland. A. D. 664.

The year \* six hundred and sixty-four a synod of Scottish and English bishops, in the presence of Oswi and Alfred his son, was held at a monastery in those parts, to debate on what day Easter should be kept; a controversy which long before had disturbed the Greek and Latin churches: wherein the Scots not agreeing with the way of Rome; nor yielding to the disputants on that side, to whom the king most inclined, such as were bishops here, resigned, and returned home with their disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of crowns. The same year was seen an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence beginning in the South †; but spreading to the North, and over all Ireland with great mortality. In which time the East-Saxons, after Swithelm's decease, being governed by Siger the son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi of Seward, though both subject to the Mercians; Siger and his people unsteady of faith, supposing that this plague was come upon them for renouncing their old religion, fell off the second time to infidelity. Which the Mercian king, Wulfer, understanding, sent Jerumannus a faithful bishop, who with other his fellow-labourers, by sound doctrine and gentle dealing, soon re-cured them of their second relapse.

Theodore, a learned Greek monk, is archbishop of Canterbury. A. D. 668.

In Kent, Ercombert expiring, was succeeded by his son Ecbert. In whose fourth year ‡, by means of Theodore, a learned Greekish monk of Iarsus, whom pope Vitalian had ordained archbishop of Canterbury, the Greek and Latin tongue, with other liberal arts, arith-

\* Post Christ. 664. Bed. Sax. ann.

† Malms.

‡ Post Christ. 664.



metic, music, astronomy, and the like, began first to flourish among the Saxons; as did also the whole land, under potent and religious kings, more than ever before; as Beda affirms; till his own days. Two years \* after in Northumberland died Oswi, much addicted to Romish rites, and resolved, had his disease released him, to have ended his days at Rome. Ecfrid, the eldest of his sons begot in wedlock, succeeded him. After other † three years, Ecbert in Kent deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to have slain, or connived at the slaughter of, his uncle's two sons, Elbert and Egelbright. In recompense whereof he gave to the ‡ mother of them part of Tanet, wherein to build an abbey; the kingdom fell to his brother Lothair. And much about this time by the best account it should be, (however placed in Beda §,) that Ecfrid of Northumberland, having war with the Mercian Wulfer, won from him Lindsey, and the country thereabout. Sebbi, having reigned over the East-Saxons thirty years, not long before his death, (though he had long before desired to do so,) took on him the habit of a monk; and drew his wife at length, though unwilling, to the same devotion. Kenwalk also dying left the government to Sexburga, his wife, who outlived him in it but one year, having been driven out, saith Mat. Westm. by the nobles disdaining female government. ¶ After whom several petty kings, as Beda calls them, for ten years space divided the West Saxons; others name two, Escwin the nephew of Kinggils, and Kentwin the son, not petty by their deeds ¶: for Escwin fought a battle with Wulfer\*\*, at Bedanhalfde, and about a year after both deceased; but Wulfer not without a stain left behind him of selling the bishoprick of London to Wini; the first Simonist we read of in this story: Kenwalk had before expelled him from his chair at Winchester. Ethelred, the brother of Wulfer, obtaining next the kingdom of Mercia, not only recovered Lindsey, and what besides in those parts Wulfer had lost to Ecfrid some years before, but found himself strong

Death of Ecbert, king of Kent. A. D. 673.

He is succeeded by his brother Lothair.

Death of Kenwalk, king of the West-Saxons. A. D. 673.

Death of Wulfer, king of Mercia, A. D. 677.

\* Post Christ. 670. Sax. an. † Post Christ. 673. Sax. an.  
‡ Malms. § Bed. l. 4. c. 12. ¶ Post Christ. 673, Bed. l. 4. c. 12.  
¶ Sax. an. \*\* Malms. Post Christ. 676.

enough



enough to extend his arms another way, as far as Kent, wasting that country without respect to church or monastery \*, much also endamaging the city of Rochester, notwithstanding what resistance Lothair could make against him.

† In August six hundred and seventy-eight was seen a morning-comet for three months following, in manner of a fiery pillar. And the South-Saxons about this time were converted to the christian faith, upon this occasion.

The South-Saxons  
are converted to the  
christian religion.  
A. D. 678.

Wilfrid, bishop of the Northumbrians, entering into contention with Ecfrid the king, was by him deprived of his bishoprick, and long wandering up and down as far as Róme ‡, returned at length into England; but not daring to approach the north, whence he was banished, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his ministry. The south of all other Saxons remained yet heathen; but Edelwalk, their king, not long before had been baptized in Mercia, persuaded by Wulfer, and by him, and hath been said received out of the font. § For which relation's sake he had the Isle of Wight, and a province of the Mennari adjoining given him on the continent about Meanesborow in Hantshire, which Wulfer had a little before gotten from Kenwalk. Thither Wilfrid takes his journey, and with the help of other spiritual labourers about him, in short time planted there the gospel. It had not rained, as is said, of three years before in that country, whence many of the people daily perished by famine; till on the first day of their public baptism, soft and plentiful showers descending restored all abundance to the summer following. ¶ Two years after this, Kentwin, the other West-Saxon king above-named, chased the Welsh Britains, as is chronicled without circumstance, to the very sea-shore. But in the year, by Beda's reckoning, six hundred and eighty-three ¶¶, Kedwalla, a West-Saxon of the royal line (whom the Welsh will have to be Cadwallader, last king of the Britains) thrown out by faction, returned from banish-

\* Bed. l. 4. c. 12.

† Post Christ. 678.

‡ Post Christ. 679.

§ Bed. l. 4. c. 13. Caniden.

¶ Post Christ. 681. Sax. an.

¶¶ Post

Christ. 683. Sax. an.

ment,

ment, and invaded both Kentwin, if then living, or whoever else had divided the succession of Kenwalk, slaying in fight Edelwalk the South-Saxon, who opposed him in their aid\*; but soon after was repulsed by two of his captains, Bertune and Andune, who for a while held the province in their power. † But Kedwalla gathering new force, with the slaughter of Bertune, and also of Edric the successor of Edlewalk, won the kingdom; but reduced the people to heavy thralldom. ‡ Then addressing himself to conquer the Isle of Wight, (the inhabitants of which till that time continued to be pagans, as Beda saith, though others say otherwise, as above hath been related) made a vow, though himself yet unbaptized, to devote the fourth part of that island, and the spoils thereof, to holy uses. Conquest obtained, paying his vow (as then was the belief,) he gave his fourth to Bishop Wilfrid, who was by chance there present; and the bishop gave it to Bertwin a priest, his sister's son, with commission to baptize all the vanquished, who meant to save their lives. But the two young sons of Arwald, king of that island, met with much more hostility; for they, at the enemy's approach flying out of the isle, and (being betrayed as to the place where they were hid, which was not far from thence,) were led to Kedwalla, who lay then under cure of some wounds received, and by his appointment, after instruction and baptism first given them, were harshly put to death, which the youths are said, with a courage above their age, to have christianly suffered. In Kent Lothair died this year of his wounds received in the fight against the South-Saxons, led-on by Edric, who (descending from Ermenred, it seems,) challenged the crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half: but coming to a violent death§, left the land exposed a prey either to home-bred usurpers, or to neighbouring invaders. Among whom Kedwalla, taking advantage from their civil distempers, and marching easily through the country of the South-Saxons, whom he had subdued, sorely harassed the country, which had, of a long time, been untouched by any hostile incursion. But the Kentish men, all parties uniting against a common enemy, with

Death of Lothair,  
king of Kent.

\* Bed. l. 4. c. 15.

† Malms. Post Christ. 685.  
§ Post Christ. 685. Malms.

‡ Bed. l. 4. c. 15.

joint power so opposed him, that he was constrained to retire back; his brother Mollo in the flight, with twelve men in his company, seeking shelter in a house, was beset, and therein burnt by the pursuers\*. Kedwalla, much troubled at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disordered forces, returned fiercely upon the chasing enemy†; nor could he be got out of the province, till both by fire and sword he had avenged the death of his brother. ‡ At length Victred, the son of Ecbert, attaining the kingdom, both settled at home all things in peace, and secured his borders from all outward hostility..

Victred, the son of Ecbert, becomes king of Kent, A. D. 657.

§ While thus Kedwalla disquieted both West and East, after his winning the crown, Ecfrid the Northumbrian, and Ethelred the Mercian, fought a sore battle by the river Trent; wherein Elfwin, brother to Ecfrid, a youth of eighteen years, much beloved, was slain; and (that accident being likely to occasion much more shedding of blood,) peace was happily made-up by the grave exhortation of archbishop Theodore, a pecuniary fine only being paid to Ecfrid, as some satisfaction for the loss of his brother's life. Another adversity befel Ecfrid in his family, by means of Etheldrith his wife, king Anna's daughter, who having taken him for her husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted during twelve years in the obstinate refusal of his bed, thereby thinking to live the purer life. So perversely then was chastity instructed against the apostle's rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veiled herself a nun, and, being then made abbess of Ely, died seven years after of the pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertaken wedlock, though now canonized by the name of St. Audrey of Ely.

Etheldrith, the wife of Ecfrid, king of Northumbria, becomes a nun and is made abbess of Ely, and has been since called St. Audrey of Ely.

In the mean while Ecfrid had sent Bertus with a power to subdue Ireland; a harmless nation, saith Beda, and ever friendly to the English; in both which qualities they seem to have left a posterity much unlike them at this day. The inhabitants of Ireland seeing their country to be miserably wasted by these invaders, without regard had to places hallowed or profane; they betook themselves partly to their weapons,

\* Sax, an, Malmsb. † Post Christ, 686. ‡ Post Christ. 687. § Bed. and

and partly to implore divine aid; and, as was thought, obtained it in their full vengeance upon Ecfred. For he the next year, against the mind and persuasion of his sagest friends, and especially of Cudbert, a famous bishop of that age, marching unadvisedly against the Picts, who long before had been subject to Northumberland, was, by them, feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights overtopped with hills, and cut-off with most of his army. From which time, saith Bede, military valour began among the Saxons to decay; and not only the Picts, (who had till then been peaceable,) but some part of the Britains also recovered by arms their liberty for many years after. Yet Alfrid, elder, but base, brother to Ecfred, a man said to be learned in the scriptures, being recalled from Ireland, (to which place in his brother's reign he had retired,) and now succeeding him, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his kingdom. Kedwalla having now, with great disturbance of his neighbours, reigned over the West-Saxons two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to Rome, desirous there to receive baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had caused him to defer; and accordingly, on Easter-day, six hundred and eighty-nine\*, he was baptized by Sergius the pope, and his name changed to Peter. All which notwithstanding, surprised with a disease, he outlived not the ceremony, which he had so far sought, much above the space of five weeks, but died there in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the church of St. Peter was there buried, with a large epitaph upon his tomb. Him succeeded Ina of the royal family, and from the time of his coming-in, for many years oppressed the land with like grievances, as Kedwalla had done before him; inso-much that in those times there was no bishop among them. His first expedition was into Kent, to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo: Victred, loth to hazard all for the rash act of a few, delivered-up thirty of those that could be found accessory, or, as others say, pacified Ina with a great sum of money.

Death of Kedwalla, king of the West-Saxons. A. D. 689. He is succeeded by Ina.

† Mean-while, at the incitement of Ecbert, a devout

\* Post Christ. 689.

† Malm. Sax. an. Ethelwerd.



Some Anglo-Saxon priests go-over to Germany, to preach the Gospel to the pagans. About A. D. 90.

monk, Wilbrod, a priest eminent for learning, passed over sea, having twelve others in company, with intent to preach the gospel in Germany. \* And coming to Pepin, chief regent of the Franks, (who, a little before, had conquered the hither Frisia,) by his countenance and protection, and with a promise also of many benefits to them who should believe, they found the work of conversion much the easier, and Wilbrod obtained the first bishoprick in that nation. But two priests, each of them Hewald by name, and for distinction surnamed from the colour of their hair, the black and the white, by his example piously affected to the souls of their countrymen the Old Saxons, at their coming thither to convert them met with much worse entertainment. For in the house of a farmer, (who had promised to convey them, as they desired, to the governour of that country,) being discovered by their daily ceremonies to be christian priests, and the cause of their coming being suspected, they were by him and his heathen neighbours cruelly butchered; yet were not unavenged; for the governour, enraged at such violence offered to his strangers, sending armed men, slew all those inhabitants, and burnt their village.

Ethelred, king of Mercia, becomes a monk, A. D. 704.

Other kings of the Anglo-Saxons do the like.

† After three years in Mercia, Ostrid the queen, wife to Ethelred, was killed by her own nobles, as Beda's epitome records; Florence calls them Southumbrians, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. ‡ And the year following, Bethred, a Northumbrian general, was slain by the Picts. § Ethelred, seven years after the violent death of his queen, put on the monk, and resigned his kingdom to Kenred, the son of Wulfer his brother. || The next year Alfrid in Northumberland died, leaving Osred, a child only eight years old, to succeed him. ¶ Four years after which, Kenred, having a while with praise governed the Mercian kingdom, went to Rome in the time of pope Constantine, and was shorn a monk, and in that condition spent there the residue of his days. Keldred succeeded him, the son of Etheldred, who had reigned the next before. With Kenred went Offa, the son of Siger, king

\* Post Christ. 694.  
§ Post Christ. 704.

† Post Christ. 697.  
|| Post Christ. 705.

‡ Post Christ. 698.  
¶ Post Christ. 709.



of the East-Saxons, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his wife and native country; a comely person in the prime of his youth, much desired of the people; and such was his virtue, by report, that he might have otherwise been worthy to have reigned. \* Ina, the West-Saxon, one year after, fought a battle, which was at first doubtful, but at last successful, against Gerent, king of Wales. † The next year Bertfrid, another Northumbrian captain, fought with the Picts, and slaughtered them, saith Huntingdon, to the full avengement of Ecfrid's death. ‡ The fourth year after, Ina had another doubtful and cruel battle at Woodnesburgh in Wiltshire, with Kelred the Mercian, who died the year following a lamentable death §: for, as he sat one day feasting with his nobles, suddenly possessed with an evil spirit, he expired in despair, as Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, an Englishman, (who taxes him for a defiler of nuns,) writes by way of caution to Ethelbald his next of kin, who succeeded him. Osred also, a young Northumbrian king, slain by his kindred in the eleventh of his reign for his vicious life and incest committed with nuns, was by Kenred succeeded and avenged; he, reigning two years, left Osric in his room. || In whose seventh year, if Beda calculate right, Victred, king of Kent, deceased, having reigned thirty-four years, and some part of them with Suebbard, as Beda ¶ testifies. He left behind him three sons, Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric, his heirs. \*\* Three years after which, appeared two comets about the sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in the morning, the other after him in the evening, for the space of two weeks in January, bending their blaze toward the north; at which time the Saracens furiously invaded France, but were expelled soon after with great overthrow. The same year in Northumberland, Osric, dying or slain, adopted Kelwulf, the brother of Kenred, his successor, to whom Beda dedicates his story ††; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the process of his reign met with many adverse coin-

Death of Victred,  
king of Kent, A. D.  
725.

Two Comets are  
seen near the Sun  
in January, A. D.  
728.

\* Post Christ. 710. Sax. annal. † Huntingd. Post Christ. 711.  
‡ Bed. Epit. Post Christ. 715. § Sax. an. Huntingd. Post Christ. 716.  
|| Post Christ. 718. ¶ L. 5. c. 9. Post Christ. 725. \*\* Post  
Christ. 728. †† Bed. l. 5. c. 24.

motions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Meanwhile Ina, seven years before having slain Kenwulf, (to whom Florent gives the addition of Clito, which is given usually to none but persons of the blood royal,) and, the fourth year after, having overthrown and slain Albright, another Clito, driven from Taunton to the South-Saxons for aid; and having vanquished also the East-Angles in more than one battle, (as Malmsbury writes, but does not mention the year;) whether to expiate, so much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of those times, (Malmsbury saith, at the persuasion of Ethelburga his wife,) went to Rome, and there ended his days; (yet this praise left behind him, to have made good laws, the first of the Saxon laws that remain extant to this day,) and to his kinsman Edeldard bequeathed the crown, no less than the whole monarchy of England and Wales. For Ina, if we believe a digression in the laws of Edward the Confessor, was the first king crowned of both English and British subjects, since the entrance of the Saxons: of the British by means of his second wife, who was some way related to Cadwallader the last king of Wales; which I should not have noted, (as it appears to me to be unlikely,) but for the place in which I found it. \* After Ina, by a surer author, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, commanded all the provinces on this side the Humber, with their kings: the Picts were in league with the English; the Scots were peaceable within their bounds; and of the Britains part were under their own government, and part subject to the English. In which peaceful state of the land, many in Northumberland, both nobles and commons, laying aside the exercise of arms, betook them to the cloister: and, not content so to do at home, many in the days of Ina, clerks and laics, men and women, hastening to Rome in herds, thought themselves no where sure of eternal life till they were cloistered there. I thus representing the state of things in this island, Beda surceases to write: Out of whose writings chiefly has been gathered, since the Saxons arrival, such an imperfect account of their actions as hath been here delivered; which is but a scattered story pickt-out, here and there, with some trouble and tedious work, from among his many legends of visions and

Ina dies at Rome, and is succeeded by Edeldard.

Ethelbald, king of Mercia, becomes very powerful.

Many of the nobles of England become monks.

miracles; which, toward the latter end of it, is so bare of civil matters, that what can be thence collected may seem to be a Kalendar rather than a History, being taken up for the most part with the succession of kings, and computation of years; and even these uninteresting particulars are hard to be reconciled with the Saxon annals. Their actions that we read of, were most commonly wars; but for what cause waged, or by what counsels carried on; no care was had to let us know; whereby their strength and violence we understand, but of their wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing; the rest treating of superstition and monastical affectation: kings, one after another, leaving their kingly charge, to run their heads fondly into a monk's cowl: which leaves us uncertain, whether Beda was wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the Danish invasion it will be worse with us, when we are destitute of Beda. Left only, to obscure and blockish chronicles; whom Malmſbury, and Huntingdon (for neither they nor we had better authors of those times) ambitious to adorn the history, make no scruple oftentimes, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and surmises of their own. But, rather than imitate these writers, I shall choose to represent the truth quite naked, though as lean as a plain journal. Yet William of Malmſbury must be acknowledged, both for style and judgement, to be by far the best writer of them all: but what labour is to be endured in turning over volumes of rubbish in the rest, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Simeon of Durham, Hoveden, Matthew of Westminster, and many others of obscurer note, with all their monachisms, is a penance to think. Yet these are our only registers, transcribers one after another for the most part, and sometimes worthy enough for the things they register. This travail, rather than not know at once what may be known of our ancient story, sifted from fables and impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to save others, if they please, the like displeasing labour; except those who take pleasure to be all their life-time raking the foundations of old abbeys and cathedrals. But to my task now, as it befalls.

Of the imperfection of the accounts of the Saxon kings after the Heptarchy after the death of Ina, in the year A. D. 731, to the time of the first Danish invasion in A. D. 789.

\* In the year seven hundred and thirty-three, on the

\* Post Christ. 733. Sax, an.

A great Eclipse of the Sun on the 13th of August, A. D. 733.

Death of Beda, the historian, A. D. 735.

Death of Edelard, king of the West-Saxons, A. D. 741.

eighteenth day of the kalends of September, was an eclipse of the sun about the third hour of day, obscuring almost his whole orb as with a black shield. \* Ethelbald, king of Mercia, besieged and took the castle, or town, of Somerton: † and, two years after, Beda our historian died; some say, the year before. ‡ Kelwulf, in Northumberland, three years after, became a monk in Lindisfarne; yet none of the severest: for he brought those monks from milk and water, to wine and ale; in which doctrine no doubt but they were soon docile, and well might; for Kelwulf brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of land, recited by Simeon, yet all under pretence of following (I use the author's words) poor Christ, by voluntary poverty; no marvel then, if such applause were given by monkish writers to kings turning monks, and much cunning, perhaps, used to allure them. To Eadbert, his uncle's son, he left the kingdom, whose brother Ecbert, archbishop of York, built a library there. § But two years after, while Eadbert was busied in war against the Picts, Ethelbald the Mercian, by foul fraud, assaulted part of Northumberland in his absence, as the supplement to Beda's epitome records. In the kingdom of the West-Saxons, Edelard, who succeeded Ina, having been much molested, in the beginning of his reign, with the rebellion of Oswald, his kinsman, (who contended with him for the right of succession,) overcoming at last those troubles, died in peace in the year seven hundred and forty-one ||, leaving Cuthred, one of the same lineage, to succeed him; who at first had much war with Ethelbald the Mercian, and various success, but, joining with him in a league two years after ¶, made war on the Welsh; over whom Huntingdon doubts not to give them a great victory. \*\* And Simeon reports another battle fought between Britains and Picts in the year ensuing.

Now was the kingdom of the East-Saxons drawing to a period. For Sigeward and Senfred, the son of Sebbi, having reigned a while, and after them young Offa, (who

\* Ethelwerd. † Post Christ. 735. ‡ Post Christ. 738. Malms. § Post Christ. 740. || Post Christ. 741. Malms. Sax. an. ¶ Post Christ. 743. Sim. Dur. \*\* Post Christ. 744. Hoved. Malms. Sax. an.



soon quitted his kingdom to go to Rome with Kenred, as hath been said,) the government was conferred on Selred, son of Sigebert the Good, who, having ruled thirty-eight years \*, came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set-down. After whom Swithred was the last king, driven-out by Ecbert the West-Saxon: but London, with the countries adjacent, obeyed the Mercians till they also were dissolved. † Cuthred had now reigned about nine years, when Kenric, his son, a valiant young prince, was, in a military tumult, slain by his own soldiers. The same year Eadbert dying in Kent, his brother Edilbert reigned in his stead. ‡ But after two years, the other Eadbert in Northumberland, whose war with the Picts hath been above mentioned, made now such progress there, as to subdue Kyle, (so saith the auctarie of Bede,) and other countries thereabout, to his dominion; while Cuthred, the West-Saxon, had a fight with Ethelhun, one of his nobles, a stout warrior, envied by him in some matter of the commonwealth §, as far as by the Latin of Ethelwerd can be understood (others interpret it sedition) and with much ado overcoming, took Ethelhun for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully served in the twelfth or thirteenth of his reign, he encountered in a set battle with Ethelbald the Mercian at Beorford, now Burford in Oxfordshire; || one year after against the Welch, which was the last but one of his life. Huntingdon, as his manner is to comment upon the annal text, makes a terrible description of that fight between Cuthred and Ethelbald, and the prowess of Ethelhun, at Beorford, but so affectedly, and therefore suspiciously, that I hold it not worth rehearsal; and, both in that and the latter conflict, he gives victory to Cuthred; after whom Sigebert ¶, (it is uncertain by what right, (as his kinsman, saith Florent,) stepped into the throne, whom, hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, Kinwulf, joining with most of the nobility, dispossessed of all his dominions, but Hampshire; that province he lost also within a year \*\*, together with the

Of the kingdom of the East-Saxons, or Essex.

Death of Cuthred, king of the West-Saxons, A. D. 754.

Ann. B. 1. 2. 8c.

\* Post Christ. 746. † Post Christ. 748. Sax. an. Huntingd. ‡ Post. Christ. 750. § Huntingd. Post Christ. 752. Camd. ¶ Post Christ. 753. || Sax. an. Post Christ. 754. Malm. \*\* Post Christ. 755.



He is succeeded by  
Kinwulf.

loye of all those who till then remained his adherents, by slaying Cumbran, one of his chief captains, who for a long time had faithfully served, and now dissuaded him from incensing the people by such tyrannical practices. \* Thence flying for safety into Andrew's wood, forsaken of all, he was at length slain by the swineherd of Cumbran in revenge of his master; and Kinwulf, who had an undoubted right to the crown, was joyfully saluted king. † The next year Eadbert the Northumbrian, joining forces with Unust king of the Picts, as Simeon writes, besieged and took by surrender the city of Alcluith, now Dunbritton in Lennox, from the Britains of Cumberland; and ten days after ‡, the whole army perished about Niwanbirig; but to tell us how, he forgets. In Mercia, Ethelbald was slain at a place called Secandune, now Seckington in Warwickshire, the year following §, in a bloody fight against Cuthred, as Huntingdon surmises; but Cuthred was dead two or three years before; others write him to have been murdered in the night by his own guard, and the treason, as some say, of Beornred, who succeeded him; but ere many months, was defeated and slain by Offa. Yet Ethelbald seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous reign, to have fallen by a violent death; which seems to have been the consequence of his having ventured (on the vain confidence of his many alms,) to commit uncleanness with consecrated nuns, besides laic adulteries, as the archbishop of Mentz in a letter taxes him and his predecessor, and that, by his example, most of his peers did the like; which adulterous doings, he foretold him, were likely to produce a slothful offspring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that kingdom; as it fell out not long after. || The next year, Osmund, according to Florence, ruling the South-Saxons, and Swithred the East, Eadbert in Northumberland, following the steps of his predecessor, got him into a monk's hood; which seems the more to be wondered at, as he had reigned worthily twenty-one years ¶, with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, and was still able to govern, and was much entreated by the kings his

Eadbert, king of Northumberland, resigns the crown, and becomes a monk, A. D. 758.

\* Huntingdon. † Post Christ. 756. Camd. ‡ Camd.  
§ Post Christ. 757. Sax. an. Epit. Bed. Sim. Dun. || Post Christ. 758.  
¶ Sim. Dun. Eccles. 1, 2.

neighbours,

neighbours; not to lay-down his charge; with an offer, on that condition, to yield-up to him part of their own dominions. But he could not be moved from his resolution, and accordingly relinquished his regal office to Oswulf, his son; who at the year's end\*, though without just cause, was slain by his own servants. And the year after died Ethelbert, son of Victred, the second of that name in Kent. After Oswulf, Ethelwald, otherwise called Mollo, was set-up king; who in his third year† at a great battle at Eldune, by Melros, slew Oswin a great lord, rebelling, and gained the victory. But the third year after‡ fell by the treachery of Alcred, who assumed his place. § The fourth year after which, Cataracta, an ancient and fair city in Yorkshire, was burnt by Arned, a certain tyrant, who the same year came to a like end. || And after five years more, Alcred the king, deposed and forsaken by all his people, flew with a few, first to Bebbra, a strong city of those parts, and thence to Kinot, king of the Picts. Ethelred, the son of Mollo, was crowned in his stead. Meanwhile Offa the Mercian, growing powerful, had subdued a neighbouring people who are, by Simeon, called Hastings; and fought successfully this year with Alric, king of Kent, at a place called Occanford: the annals also speak of wondrous serpents then seen in Sussex. Nor had Kinwulf, the West-Saxon, given small proof of his valour in several battles against the Welsh heretofore; but this year seven hundred and seventy-five¶, meeting with Offa, at a place called Besington, was put to the worse, and Offa won the town for which they contended. \*\* In Northumberland, Ethelred having caused three of his nobles, Aldulf, Kinwulf, and Ecça, treacherously to be slain by two other peers, was himself the next year driven into banishment, Elfwald, the son of Oswulf, succeeding in his place. Yet this succession also was followed by civil broils; for in his second year†† Osbald and Athelheard, two noblemen, raising forces against him, routed Bearne his general, and pursuing, burnt him at a place called Seletune. I am sensible

Death of Ethelbert  
the second, king of  
Kent, A. D. 760.

Offa, king of Mercia,  
grows powerful,  
A. D. 774.

\* Post Christ. 759. † Post Christ. 762. Sim. Dun. Mat. West.  
‡ Post Christ. 765. Sim. Dun. § Post. Christ. 769. || Post Christ.  
774. Sim. Dun. ¶ Post Christ. 775. Sax. an. \*\* Post Christ.  
78. Sim. Dun. †† Post Christ. 780. Sim, Dun,

how

Death of Kinwulf,  
king of the West-  
Saxons, A. D. 786.

how wearisome it may likely be, to read of so many bare and reasonless actions, so many names of kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a scene: what would it be to have inserted the long bead-roll of archbishops, bishops, abbots, abbesses, and their doings, neither to religion profitable, nor to morality, swelling my authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as their property, who have a mind to write the ecclesiastical matters of those ages? Neither do I care to wrinkle the smoothness of history with rugged names of places unknown, better harped-at in Camden, and other chorographers. \* Six years therefore passed-over in silence, as wholly of such argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of Kinwulf the West-Saxon; who having laudably reigned about thirty-one years, yet suspecting that Kineard, brother of Sigebert the former king, intended to usurp the crown after his decease, or revenge his brother's expulsion, had commanded him into banishment†: but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small company, having had intelligence that Kinwulf was in the country thereabout, at Merantun, or Merton in Surrey, at the house of a woman whom he loved, went by night and beset the place. Kinwulf, over confident either of his royal presence, or personal valour, issuing-forth with a few about him, runs fiercely at Kineard, and wounds him sore; but by his followers hemmed-in, is killed among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the king's return, Osric and Wivert, two earls, hasted with a great number to the house, where Kineard and his fellows yet remained. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promises of great gifts attempted to appease them; but, those being rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his retinue, which were nigh a hundred. Kinwulf was succeeded by Birthric, being both descended from Kerdic, the founder of that kingdom. † Not better

He is succeeded by  
Birthric.

\* Post Christ. 786. Ethelwerd. Malmsb. † Sax. an. Camd.  
‡ Post Christ. 788. Sim. Dun. Malms.

was

was the end of Elfwald in Northumberland, two years after slain miserably by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, or, as others say, of the whole people, at Scilcester by the Roman wall; yet undeservedly, as his sepulchre at Hagustald, now Hexam upon Tine, and some miracles there said to be done \*, are alledged to witness, and Siggan five years after laid violent hands on himself. † Osred, son of Alcred, advanced into the room of Elfwald, and within one year driven-out, left his seat vacant to Ethelred, son of Mollo, who after ten years banishment ‡ (imprisoment, saith Alcuin) had the sceptre put again into his hand.

The third year of Birthric, king of the West-Saxons, gave beginning from abroad to a new and fatal revolution of calamity on this land. For three Danish ships, the first that had been seen here of that nation, arriving in the West, to visit these, as was supposed, foreign merchants, the king's gatherer of customs taking horse from Dorchester, found them to be spies and enemies. For, being commanded to come and give account of their lading at the king's custom-house, they slew him, and all that came with him; as an earnest of the many slaughters, rapines, and hostilities, which they returned not long after to commit over all the island. § Of this Danish first arrival, and on a sudden worse than hostile aggression, the Danish history far otherwise relates, as if their landing had been at the mouth of the Humber, and their spoilful march far into the country; though soon repelled by the inhabitants, they hasted back as fast to their ships. But from what cause, what reason of state, what authority, or public council, the invasion proceeded, it makes not mention: and it excites our wonder yet the more, by telling us that Sigefrid, then king in Denmark, and long after, was a man studious more of peace and quiet than of warlike matters. || These therefore seem rather to have been some wanderers at sea, who, with public commission, or without, through love of spoil, or hatred of christianity, seeking booties on any land of christians, came by chance, or weather, on this shore.

The Danes begin to make inroads on the coast of England, A. D. 780.

\* Camd.  
‡ Pontan. l. 3.

† Malms.  
|| Ibid. l. 4.

‡ Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 789.

\* The



\*The next year Osred in Northumberland, who, driven-out by his nobles, had given place to Ethelred, was taken, and forcibly shaved a monk at York. † And the year after, Oelf, and Oelfwin, sons of Elfwald, formerly king, were drawn by fair promises from the principal church of York, and after, by command of Ethelred, cruelly put to death at Wonwaldremere, ‡, a village by the great pool in Lancashire, now called Winandermere. § Nor was the third year less bloody; for Osred, who, not liking a shaven crown, had desired banishment and obtained it, returning from the Isle of Man with small forces, at the secret, but deceitful, call of certain nobles, who by oath had promised to assist him, were also taken, and by Ethelred dealt-with in the same manner: who, the better to avouch his cruelties, thereupon married Elfled, the daughter of Offa; for in Offa was found as little faith as mercy. He the same year, having drawn to his palace Ethelbrite, king of the East-Angles, with fair invitations to marry his daughter, caused him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his kingdom wrongfully seized, by the wicked counsel of his wife, saith Mat. West. annexing thereto a long and unlikely tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make atonement, with friars at least, he bestows the relics of St. Alban in a shrine of pearl and gold. ¶ Far worse it fared the next year with the relics in Lindisfarne; where the Danes landing pillaged that monastery; and of friars killed some, and carried-away others captive, sparing neither priest nor layman: which many strange thunders and fiery dragons, with other impressions in the air seen frequently before, were judged to fore-signify. This year Alric, third son of Victred, ended in Kent his long reign of thirty-four years; with him ended the race of Hengist: thenceforth whomsoever wealth or faction advanced took on him the name and state of a king. The Saxon annals of seven hundred and eighty-four name Ealmund then reigning in Kent; but that consists not with the time of Alric, and I find him no where else mentioned. The year fol-

The Danes invade England a second time, A. D. 793.

The death of Alric, king of Kent, A. D. 793.

\* Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 790. † Post Christ. 791. Sim. Dun. ‡ Camd. § Post Christ. 792. Sim. Dun, Eccles. 1. 2. ¶ Post Christ. 793. Sim. Dun.

lowing



lowing \* was remarkable for the death of Offa the Mercian, a strenuous and subtle king; he had much intercourse with Charles the Great, at first in enmity, to the interdicting of commerce on either side, at length in much amity and firm league, as appears by the letter of Charles himself yet extant, procured by Alcuin, a learned and prudent man, though a monk, whom the kings of England in those days had sent orator into France, to maintain good correspondence between them and Charles the Great. He granted, saith Huntingdon, a perpetual tribute to the pope out of every house in his kingdom †, for yielding perhaps to translate the primacy of Canterbury to Litchfield in his own dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British confines from sea to sea. Ecferth, the son of Offa, a prince of great hope, who also had been crowned nine years before his father's decease, restoring to the church what his father had seized on, yet within four months by a sickness ended his reign; and to Kenulf, next in the right of the same progeny, bequeathed his kingdom. Meanwhile the Danish pirates, who still wasted Northumberland, venturing on shore to spoil another monastery at the mouth of the river Don, were assailed by the English, and their chief captain slain on the place; then returning to sea, were most of them shipwrecked; others driven again on shore, were put all to the sword. Simeon attributes this their punishment to the power of St. Cudbert, offended with them for the rifling his convent. ‡ Two years after this died Ethelred, twice king, but not exempted at last from the fate of many of his predecessors, being miserably slain by his people; some say deservedly, as not unconscious with them who trained Osred to his ruin. Osbald, a nobleman exalted to the throne, and, in less than a month, deserted and expelled, was forced to fly from Lindisfarne by sea to the Pictish king, and died an abbot. Eardhulf, (whom Ethelred, six years before, had commanded to be put to death at Rippon, before the abbey-gate,) dead, as was supposed,

Death of Offa, king of Mercia, A. D. 794.

\* Post Christ. 794. Malms. † Asser. Men. Sim. Dun.  
‡ Post Christ. 796, Sim. Dun.

and, with solemn dirge, carried into the church, and yet after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then banished, now recalled, was in York created king. In Kent Ethelbert, or Pren, whom the annals call Eadbright (so different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by some means having usurped regal power, after two years reign contending with Kenulf the Mercian, was by him taken prisoner, and soon after, out of pious commiseration, let go: but not being received of his own, what became of him Malmsbury leaves in doubt. Simon writes, that Kenulf commanded to put-out his eyes, and lop-off his hands; but, whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in Northumberland, who had conspired against Ethelred\*, now also raising war against Eardulf, under Wada their chief captain, after much havock on either side at Langho, near Whaley in Lancashire, the conspirators at last flying, Eardulf returned with victory. The same year London, with a great multitude of her inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consumed.

The city of London  
is destroyed by fire,  
A. D. 799.

The year eight hundred † made way for great alteration in England, uniting her seven kingdoms into one, by Ecbert the famous West-Saxon; him Birthric, dying childless, left next to reign, the only survivor of that lineage, descended from Inegild, the brother of king Ina. ‡ And, according to his birth, liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing-up in him; which Birthric fearing, and withal his juster title to the crown, secretly sought his life, and Ecbert perceiving, fled to Offa, the Mercian: but he, having married Eadburgh his daughter to Birthric, easily gave ear to his ambassadors coming to require Ecbert: § he, again put to his shifts, escaped thence into France; but, after three years banishment there, (which perhaps contributed much to his education, Charles the Great then reigning,) he was called-over by the public voice (for Birthric was newly dead)

Death of Birthric,  
king of the West-  
Saxons, A. D. 800.

He is succeeded by  
Ecbert.

\* Post Christ. 799. Sim. Dun.  
§ Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 800.

‡ Malms.

and

and with general applause created king of the West-Saxons. The same day Ethelmund at Kinnersford, passing-over with the Worcestershire-men, was met by Weolstan, another nobleman, with those of Wiltshire; between whom happened a great fray, wherein the Wiltshire-men overcame: but both dukes were slain: and no reason of their quarrel was assigned. Such bickerings to recount, met often in these our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites or crows, flocking and fighting in the air?

\* The year following, Eardulf, the Northumbrian, leading-forth an army against Kenwulf, the Mercian, for harbouring certain of his enemies, by the diligent mediation of other princes and prelates, arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them. † But Eadburga, the wife of Birthric, a woman every way wicked, in malice especially cruel, could not, or cared not to, appease the general hatred justly conceived against her; having been accustomed, in her husband's day, to accuse any whom she spighted‡; and, not prevailing to his ruin, her practice, was by poison, secretly to contrive his death. It fortune'd, that the king her husband, lighting on a cup which she had tempered, not for him, but for one of his great favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sipped thereof only, and, in a while after, still pining-away, ended his days; the favourite, drinking deeper, found speedier it's fatal effect. She, fearing to be questioned for these acts, fled over sea, with what treasure she had, to Charles the Great; whom, with rich gifts coming to his presence, the emperor courtly received with this pleasant proposal: "Choose Eadburga, which of us two thou wilt, me or my son," (for his son stood near him): "to be thy husband." She, no dissembler of what she liked best, made easy answer: "Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your son rather, as the younger man." To whom the emperor, between jest and earnest, "Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestowed on thee my son; but since thou hast chosen him, thou shalt have neither him nor me." Nevertheless he

*The wickedness of Eadburga, wife of Birthric, late king of the West Saxons.*

\* Post Christ. 801. Sim. Dun.

† Malm. l. 2. Asser.

‡ Post Christ. 802. Sim. Dun.

assigned her a rich monastery to dwell in as abbess: for that life it may seem she chose next to profess: but, being a while after detected of unchastity with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence: and from that time wandering poorly up and down with one servant, in Pavia a city in Italy, she finished at last in beggary her shameful life.

In the year eight hundred and five \* Cuthred, (whom Kenulf, the Mercian, had, instead of Pren, made king in Kent,) having obscurely reigned eight years, deceased. In Northumberland, Eardulf the year following was driven out of his realm by Alfwold †, who reigned two years in his room; after whom Eandred, son of Eardulf, reigned thirty-three years. But I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better authors: much less that which Buchanan relates, the year following ‡ of Achaius, king of Scots, who having reigned thirty-two years, and dying in eight hundred and nine §, had formerly aided (but in what year of his reign he tells not) Hungus, king of the Picts, with ten thousand Scots, against Athelstan, a Saxon or Englishman, who was then wasting the Pictish borders; that Hungus, by the aid of those Scots, and help of St. Andrew their patron, in a vision by night, and the appearance of his cross by day, routed the astonished English, and slew Athelstan in fight. Who this Athelstan was, I believe no man knows; Buchanan supposes him to have been some Danish commander, on whom king Alured, or Alfred, had bestowed Northumberland; but of this I find no footstep in our ancient writers; and, if any such thing were done in the time of Alfred, it must be little less than a hundred years after: this Athelstan therefore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have been the fancy of some legend than any warrantable record. || Meanwhile, Ecbert, having with much prudence, justice, and clemency, (a work of more than one year,) established his kingdom and himself in the affections of

Death of Cuthred,  
king of Kent, A. D.  
805.

Ecbert subdues the  
Britains in Cornwall  
and in Wales.

\* Post Christ. 805. Malms. Sax. an. † Post Christ. 806. Huntingd. Sim. Dun. ‡ Post Christ. 808. Mat. West. § Post Christ. 809. || Sim. Dun. Post Christ. 813. Sax. an.

his people, turns his first enterprise against the Britains; both them of Cornwall and those beyond Severn, subduing both. In Mercia, Kenulf, the sixth year after\*, having reigned with great praise of his religious mind and virtues both in peace and war, deceased. His son Kenelm, a child of seven years, was committed to the care of his elder sister Quendrid; who, with a female ambition aspiring to the crown, hired one who had the charge of his nurture to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. † The murder, as is reported, was miraculously-revealed; but to tell how, by a dove dropping a written note on the altar at Rome, is a long story, told, though out of order, by Malmsbury, and under the year eight hundred and twenty-one by Mat. West., where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my readers to be. Only the note was to this purpose:

Death of Kenulf,  
king of Mercia,  
A. D. 819.

Low in a mead of kine under a thorn,  
Of head bereft, lies poor Kenelm king-born.

Keolwulf, the brother of Kenulf, after one year's reign was driven-out by one Bernulf, an usurper ‡; who, in his third year §, (is uncertain whether invading or invaded,) was by Ecbert, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at Ellandune, or Wilton: yet Malmsbury accounts this battle to have been fought in eight hundred and six; a wide difference, but frequently found in their computations. Bernulf thence retiring to the East-Angles, as part of his dominion by the late seizure of Offa, was by them met in the field and slain: but they, doubting what the Mercians might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves, both king and people, to the sovereignty of Ecbert.

Ecbert defeats the  
Mercians at Wilton.

The East-Angles  
submit to the go-  
vernment of Ecbert.

As for the kings of the East-Angles, our annals mention them not since Ethelwald; him succeeded his brother's sons ||, as we find in Malmsbury, Aldulf (a good king, well acquainted with Bede) and Elwold, who left the kingdom to Beorn, and he to Ethelred

Of the kings of the  
East-Angles.

\* Post Christ. 819. Sax. an.  
‡ Post Christ. 828. Sax. an.

† Malms. ‡ Post Christ. 820. Ingulf.  
|| Florent. Genealog. Bed. l. 2. c. 15.



the father to Ethelbrite, whom Offa perfidiously put to death. Simeon and Hoveden, in the year seven hundred and forty-nine, write that Elfwald, king of the East-Angles, dying, Humbeanna and Albert shared the kingdom between them; but, where to insert this among the former successions, is not easy, nor much material to determine. After Ethelbrite, none is named as king of that kingdom, till their submitting now to Ecbert. He, from this victory against Bernulf, sent part of his army under Ethelwulf his son, with Alstan bishop of Shirburn, and Wulferd a chief commander, into Kent. Who, finding Baldred there reigning in his eighteenth year, overcame and drove him over the Thames; whereupon all Kent, Surry, Sussex, and lastly Essex, with her king Swithred, became subject to the dominion of Ecbert. Neither were these all his exploits of this year; the first in order set-down in the Saxon annals being his fight against the Devonshire Welsh, at a place called Gafulford, now Camelford in Cornwall.

Ecbert conquers the kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

And afterwards Withlaf, king of Mercia, who becomes tributary to him.

The kingdom of Northumberland falls into a state of confusion, and is over-run by the Danish invaders.

\* Ludiken the Mercian, after two years preparing to avenge Bernulf, his kinsman, on the East-Angles, was by them with his five consuls, as the annals call them, surprised and put to the sword: and Withlaf, his successor, first vanquished, then upon submission, with all Mercia, made tributary to Ecbert. Meanwhile the Northumbrian kingdom of itself was fallen to shivers; their kings, one after another, so often slain by the people, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take-up the sceptre, which many had found so hot (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the space of thirty-three years after the death of Ethelred, son of Mollo, as Malmesbury writes, there was no king: and many noblemen and prelates had fled the country. Which misrule among them the Danes having understood, oft-times from their ships entering far into the land, infested those parts with wide depopulation, wasting towns, churches, and monasteries; for the Danes were as yet heathens: the Lent before whose coming, on the north side of St. Peter's church in York it was seen from the roof to rain blood. The causes of these calamities, and the ruin of that kingdom,

\* Camd. Post Christ. 825. Ingulf.

Alcuin, a learned monk living in those days, attributes in several epistles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of Beda, and of Ecbert the archbishop; their neglect of breeding-up youth in the scriptures, the spruce and gay apparel of their priests and nuns, discovering their vain and wanton minds. Examples are also read, even in Beda's days, of their wanton deeds: thence altars defiled with perjuries, cloisters violated with adulteries, the land polluted with the blood of their princes, civil dissensions among the people; and finally, all the same vices which Gildas alledged of old to have ruined the Britains. In this estate Ecbert, who had now conquered all the south, finding them in the year eight hundred and twenty-seven \*, (for he was marched thither with an army to complete his conquest of the whole island) no wonder if they submitted themselves to the yoke without resistance, Eandred, their king, becoming tributary. † Thence turning his forces the year following, he subdued more thoroughly what remained of North-Wales.

Their king Eandred, becomes tributary to Ecbert, A. D. 827.

Ecbert conquers the Welsh of North-Wales, A. D. 828.

\* Post Christ. 827.

† Post Christ. 828. Mat. West.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE  
HISTORY OF BRITAIN:  
THE FIFTH BOOK.

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Of the Danes who  
invaded England.

THE sum of things in this island, or the best part thereof, being reduced now under the power of one man, and him one of the worthiest, (which, as far as can be found in good authors, was by none attained at any time here before, unless in fables;) men might with some reason have expected from such a happy union, the blessings of peace and plenty, greatness, and the flourishing of all estates and degrees: but far the contrary fell-out soon after, namely, invasion, spoil, desolation, slaughter of many, slavery of the rest, by the forcible landing of a fierce nation; Danes commonly called, and sometimes Dacians by others, the same with Normans; as barbarous as the Saxons themselves were at first reputed, and much more: for the Saxons were, at first, invited, and came hither to dwell; but these, unsent-for, unprovoked, came only to destroy \*. But, if the Saxons, as is above related, came, most of them, from Jutland and Anglen, a part of Denmark, as Danish writers affirm, and that Danes and Normans are the same; then in this invasion, Danes drove-out Danes, their own posterity. And Normans afterwards drove-out none but more ancient Normans†. Which invasion perhaps, had the heptarchy stood, divided as it was, would have either not been attempted, or not un- easily resisted; while each prince and people, excited by their nearest concernments, would have more industriously defended their own bounds, than when depending on the neglect of a deputed governour, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure monarch. Though, as it fell-out in those troubles, the lesser kingdoms revolting from the West-Saxon yoke, and not aiding each other, but being too much concerned for their own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repel the

\* Calvisius.

† Ponton. Hist. Dan.

danger

danger nigh at hand, rather than jointly to prevent it far off. - But, when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of government are alike unable to avoid it. God hath purposed to punish our instrumental punishers, though now christians, by other heathen invaders, according to his divine retaliation; invasion for invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The Saxons were now full as wicked as the Britains had been at the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain under Hengist and Horsa, being given-up to luxury and sloth, either secular or superstitious. For, laying-aside the exercise of arms, and the study of all virtuous knowledge, some betook them to over-worldly or vicious practice, others to religious idleness and solitude, which brought-forth nothing but vain and delusive visions; easily perceived to be such by their commanding of things, either not belonging to the gospel, or utterly forbidden:—ceremonies, relics, monasteries, masses, idols; add to these the ostentation of giving alms, with money got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixed with violent and lustful deeds, sometimes prodigally bestowed as the expiation of acts of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when religion itself grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shows of purity were impured?

### ECBERT.

ECBERT in full height of glory, having now enjoyed his conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious army long since disbanded, and the exercise of arms perhaps laid-aside; the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of Danes from the sea, who landing in the \* thirty-second year of his reign, wasted Shepey in Kent. Ecbert, the next year †, gathering an army, (for he had heard of their arrival in thirty-five ships,) gave them battle by the river Carr in Dorsetshire; the event whereof was, that the Danes kept their ground, and encamped where the field was fought; and two Saxon leaders, Dudda and Osmund, and two bishops, as some say, were there slain.

The Danes invade England, and take the Isle of Shepey in Kent, A. D. 832.

\* Post Christ. 832. Sax. annal.

† Post Christ. 839. Sax. an.

This was the only check of fortune we read of, that Ecbert in all his time received. For the Danes returning two years \* after with a great navy, and joining forces with the Cornish, who had entered into a league with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these invasions against Ecbert the Danish history is not silent ; whether out of their own records or ours may be justly doubted : for of these times at home I find them in much uncertainty, and beholden rather to outlandish chronicles, than any records of their own. The victor Ecbert, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next † year with glory ended his days, and was buried at Winchester.

The Death of Ecbert, A. D. 836.

### ETHELWOLF.

ETHELWOLF, the son of Ecbert, succeeded him in the government, and is described by Malmsbury as a man of a mild nature, not inclined to war, or delighted with much dominion ; that therefore, contented with the ancient West-Saxon bounds, he gave to Ethelstan his brother, (or son, as some write,) the kingdoms of Kent and Essex. ‡ But the Saxon annalist, whose authority is elder, saith plainly, that both these countries and Sussex were bequeathed to Ethelstan by Ecbert, his father. The unwarlike disposition of Ethelwolf gave encouragement, no doubt, and easier entrance to the Danes, who came again the next year with thirty-three ships § ; but Wulfherd, one of the king's chief captains, drove them back at Southampton with great slaughter ; himself dying the same year, of old age, as I suppose ; for he seems to have been one of Ecbert's old commanders, who was sent with Ethelwolf to subdue Kent. Ethelhelm, another of the king's captains, with the Dorsetshire men, had at first like success against the Danes at Portsmouth ; but they, being soon after re-inforced, stood their ground, and put the English to rout. Worse was the success of earl Herebert at a place called Mereswar, being slain with the most part of his army. || The year following

\* Post Christ. 835. Sax. an. Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. 4. † Post Christ. 836. Sax. an. ‡ Mat. West. § Post Christ. 837. Sax. an. || Post Christ. 838. Sax. an.



in Lindsey also, and the country of the East-Angles, and Kent, much mischief was done by their landing; \*where the next year, emboldened by success, they came-on as far as Canterbury, Rochester, and London itself, with no less cruel hostility: and, giving no respite to the peaceable mind of Ethelwolf, they yet returned with the next year † in thirty-five ships, fought with him, as before with his father, at the river Carr, and made good their ground. In Northumberland, Eandred, the tributary king, deceasing, left the same tenure to his son Ethelred, who was driven-out in his fourth year ‡, and succeeded by Readwulf; who, soon after his coronation, hasting-forth to battle against the Danes at Alvetheli, fell with the most part of his army; and Ethelred, like in fortune to the former Ethelred, was re-exalted to his seat. And, to be yet further like him in fate, was slain the fourth year after. Osbert succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the Danes next year § after met with some stop in the full course of their outrageous insolencies. For Earnulf with the men of Somerset, Alstan the bishop, and Osric with those of Dorsetshire, setting upon them at the river's mouth of Pedridan, slaughtered them in great numbers, and obtained a just victory. This repulse quelled them, for aught we hear, the space of six years ||; then also renewing their invasion with little better success. For Keorle, an earl, aided with the forces of Devonshire, assaulted and overthrew them at Wigganbeorch with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought-with the same year at Sandwich, by king Ethelstan, and Ealker his general, their great army defeated, and nine of their ships taken, and the rest driven-off: however, to ride-out the winter on that shore, Asser saith, they then first wintered in Shepey isle. Hard it is, through the bad expression of these writers, to define this fight, whether it were by sea or land; Hoveden terms it a sea-fight. Nevertheless with fifty ships (Asser and others add three hundred) they entered the mouth of the Thames ¶, and made excursions as far as Canterbury and London, and,

\* Post Christ. 839. Sax. an.      † Post Christ. 840. Sax. an. Sim. Dun. Mat. West.  
 ‡ Post Christ. 841.      § Post Christ. 845. Sax. an.  
 || Post Christ. 851. Sax. an. Asser.      ¶ Huntingd. Mat. West.

as Ethelwerd writes, destroyed both; of London, Asser signifies only that they pillaged it. Bertulf also, the Mercian, successor to Withlaf, with all his army, they forced to fly, and him to go beyond the sea. Then passing over the Thames with their powers into Surrey, and the country of the West-Saxons, and meeting there with king Ethelwolf and Ethelbald his son, at a place called Ak-Lea, or Oke-Lea, they received a total defeat with memorable slaughter. This was counted a lucky year\* to England, and brought to Ethelwolf great reputation. Burhed, therefore, who, after Bertulf, held of him the Mercian kingdom, two years after this, imploring his aid against the North Welsh, as then troublesome to his confines, obtained it of him in person, and thereby reduced them to obedience. This done, Ethelwolf sent his son Alfred, a child of five years of age, well accompanied, to Rome, whom Leo, the pope, both consecrated to be king afterwards, and adopted to be his son; at home Ealker with the forces of Kent, and Huda with those of Surrey, fell on the Danes at their landing in Tanet, and at first put them back; but the slain and drowned were at length so many on either side; as left the loss equal on both: which yet hindered not the solemnity of a marriage at the feast of Easter, between Burhed, the Mercian, and Ethelswida, king Ethelwolf's daughter. Howbeit the Danes next year † wintered again in Shepey. Whereupon Ethelwolf, (not finding human help sufficient to resist them, as they were growing daily upon him,) in hope of divine aid, registered in a book, and dedicated to God, the tenth part of his own lands, and of his whole kingdom, eased of all impositions, but converted to the maintenance of masses and psalms weekly to be sung for the prospering of Ethelwolf and his captains, as appears at large by the patent itself, in William of Malmesbury. Asser saith, he did it for the redemption of his soul, and the souls of his ancestors. After which, as having done some great matter, to show himself at Rome, and be applauded of the pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thither with young Alfred again ‡, and there stays a year, when

The Danes are defeated with great loss, A. D. 853.

Alfred, the youngest son of king Ethelwolf, is sent to Rome.

Ethelwolf gives the tenth part of his lands to the Clergy;

And soon after takes a journey to Rome.

\* Post Christ. 853. Sax. an. Asser.  
Sax. an. † Post Christ. 855, Asser,

† Malms. Post Christ. 854.

his office of king required him rather to have stayed here in the field against Pagan enemies who were left wintering in his land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no monk; and, in his way home, he took to wife, Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of France \*. But ere his return, Ethelbald, his eldest son, Alstan, his trusty bishop, and Enulf, earl of Somerset, conspired against him: their complaints were, that he had taken with him Alfred, his youngest son, to be there inaugurated king, and brought home with him an outlandish wife; for which they endeavoured to deprive him of his kingdom. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than war: but the king, abhorring civil discord, after many conferences tending to peace, condescended to divide the kingdom with his son: division was made, but the matter so carried, that the eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the father; the western and best given to the son: at which many of the nobles had great indignation, offering to the king their utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assigned. In the kingdom of the East-Angles, Edmund, lineal from the ancient stock of those kings, a youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was, with consent of all but his own, crowned at Bury. About this time, as Buchanan relates †, the Picts, who, not long before, had, by the Scots, been driven out of their country, part of them coming to Osbert and Ella, then kings of Northumberland, obtained aid against Donaldus, the Scottish king, to recover their ancient possession. Osbert, who in person undertook the expedition, marching into Scotland, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the Scots, (who were oversecure of their supposed victory,) put them to flight with great slaughter, took prisoner their king, and pursued his victory beyond Stirling-bridge. The Scots, unable to resist longer, and by ambassadors entreating peace, had it granted them on these conditions: The Scots were to quit all they had possessed within the wall of Severus: the limits of Scotland were beneath Stirling-bridge to be

The Scots under Donald, their king, are defeated in a great battle by the Picts and the Britains in Cumberland, and give up all the land they possessed to the South of Severus's wall, A. D. 857.

\* Asser.

† Post Christ. 857.

the

Death of king Ethel-  
wolf, A. D. 857.

the river Forth, and on the other side, Dunbritton Friith ; from that time so called of the British then seated in Cumberland, who had joined with Osbert in this action, and so far extended on that side the British limits. If this be true, as the Scots writers themselves witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of their own country ?) how much wanting have been our historians to their country's honour, in letting pass unmentioned an exploit so memorable, by them remembered and attested. who are wont oftener to extenuate than to amplify aught done in Scotland by the English ? Donaldus, having been on these conditions released, soon after dies ; according to Buchanan, in 858. Ethelwolf, chief king in England, had the year before ended his life, and was buried, (as his father had been.) at Winchester\*. He was, from his youth, much addicted to devotion ; so that in his father's time he was ordained bishop of Winchester ; and rather unwillingly, but for want of other legitimate issue of his father, succeeded him in the throne : managing therefore his greatest affairs by the activity of two bishops, Alstan of Sherburne, and Swithine of Winchester. But Alstan is noted of covetousness and oppression, by William of Malmesbury† ; the more vehemently, no doubt, for doing some notable damage to that monastery. The same author writes ‡, that Ethelwolf at Rome paid a tribute to the pope, continued to his days. However he were facile to his son, and seditious nobles, in yielding-up part of his kingdom, yet his queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeased. § The West-Saxons had decreed ever since the time of Eadburga, the infamous wife of Birthric, that no queen should sit in state with the king, or be dignified with the title of queen. But Ethelwolf permitted not that Judith, his queen, should lose any point of regal state by that law. At his death, he divided the kingdom between his two sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert ; to the younger Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex ; to the elder all the rest ; to Peter and Paul certain revenues yearly ; for what uses let

\* Matt. West.

† Malm. Swithine.

‡ Sigon. de regn. Ital. l. 5.

§ Asser.

others

others relate, who write also his pedigree, from son to father, up to Adam.

### ETHELBALD, and ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD, unnatural and disloyal to his father\*, fell justly into another, though contrary, sin, of too much love for his father's wife; and whom at first he opposed coming into the land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his bed; but not long enjoying, died at three years end†, without doing aught more worthy to be remembered; having reigned two years with his father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested with the Danes; not of divine favour doubtless, but to his greater condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. Huntingdon on the other side much praises Ethelbald, and writes him buried at Sherburne, with great sorrow of the people, who missed him long after. Mat. West. saith, that he repented of his incest with Judith, and dismissed her: but Asser, an eye-witness of those times, mentions no such thing.

Death of Ethelbald,  
A. D. 865.

### ETHELBERT alone.

ETHELBALD by death removed, the whole kingdom became rightful to Ethelbert his next brother. Who, though a prince of great virtue and no blame, had as short a reign allotted him as his faulty brother, nor that so peaceful; having been once or twice invaded by the Danes. But they, having landed in the west with a great army, and sacked Winchester, were met by Osric, earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf, of Berkshire, beaten to their ships, and forced to leave their booty. Five years after‡, about the time of his death, they set foot again in Tanet; the Kentish-men, wearied-out with so frequent alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain sum of money: but ere the peace could be ratified, and the money gathered, the Danes, impatient of delay, by a sudden

\* Asser. Malm. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 860. Sax. ann.

‡ Post Christ. 865. Sax. ann.

eruption



Death of Ethelbert,  
A. D. 865.

eruption in the night soon wasted all the east of Kent. Mean-while, or something before, Ethelbert deceasing was buried as his brother at Sherburne.

### ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, the third son of Ethelwolf, at his first coming to the crown was entertained with a fresh invasion of Danes\*, led by Hinguar and Hubba, two brothers, who now had got footing among the East-Angles; there they wintered, and coming to terms of peace with the inhabitants, furnished themselves with horses, forming by that means many troops with riders of their own: these pagans, Asser saith, came from the river Danubius. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventured the next year † to make their way overland and over the Humber as far as York: and there they found to their hands the inhabitants embroiled in civil dissensions; their king Osbert they had thrown-out, and Ella, leader of another faction, chosen in his room; who both, though late, admonished by their common danger, towards the year's end, with united powers made head against the Danes, and prevailed; but pursuing them over-eagerly into York, then but slenderly walled ‡, the Northumbrians were every where slaughtered, both within and without; their kings also both slain, their city burnt, saith Malmsbury, the rest, as they could, made their peace, over-run and vanquished as far as the river Tine, and Egbert, of English race, appointed king over them. Brompton, no ancient author (for he wrote since Mat. West.) nor of much credit, writes a particular cause of the Danes coming to York; that Bruern, a nobleman, whose wife king Osbert had ravished, called-in Hinguar and Hubba to revenge him. The example is remarkable, if the truth were as evident. Thence victorious, the Danes next year § entered into Mercia towards Nottingham, where they spent the winter. Burhed, then king of that country, unable to resist, implores the aid of Ethelred and

The city of York is  
taken by the Danes,  
A. D. 867.

\* Post Christ. 866. Sax. an. Hunting.

† Post Christ. 867. Sax. an.

‡ Asser.

§ Post Christ. 869.

young

young Alfred his brother; they assembling their forces and joining with the Mercians about Nottingham, offered battle\*: the Danes, not daring to come-forth, kept themselves within that town and castle, so that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the Mercians, weary of long suspense, entered into conditions of peace with their enemies. After which the Danes, returning back to York, made their abode there the space of one year†, committing, some say, many cruelties. Thence embarking to Lindsey, and all the summer destroying that country, about September‡ they came with like fury into Kesteven, another part of Lincolnshire; where Algar, the earl of Howland; now Holland, with his forces, and two hundred stout soldiers belonging to the abbey of Croiland, three hundred from about Boston, Morcard, lord of Brunne, with his numerous family, well trained and armed, Osgot governor of Lincoln with five hundred of that city, all joining together, gave battle to the Danes, slew of them a great multitude, with three of their kings, and pursued the rest to their tents; but the night following, Gothrun, Baseg, Osketil, Halfden, and Hamond, five kings, and as many earls; Frena, Hinguar, Hubba, Sidroc the elder and younger, coming-in from several parts with great forces and spoils, great part of the English began to slink home. Nevertheless Algar with such as forsook him not, all next day in order of battle facing the Danes, and sustaining unmoved the brunt of their assaults, could not withhold his men at last from pursuing their counterfeited flight; whereby opened and disordered, they fell into the snare of their enemies, rushing-back upon them. Algar and those captains forenamed with him, all resolute men, retreating to a hill-side, and slaying, of such as followed them, manifold their own number, died at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The Danes, thence passing-on into the country of the East-Angles, rifled and burnt the monastery of Ely, overthrew earl Wulketul with his whole army, and lodged out the winter at Thetford; where king Edmond

\* Asser.    † Post Christ. 869. Sim. Dun.    ‡ Post Christ. 870. Ingulf.  
assailing

assailing them was, with his whole army, put to flight, himself taken, bound to a stake, and shot to death with arrows, and his whole country subdued. The next year\* with great supplies, saith Huntingdon, bending their march towards the West-Saxons, the only people now left in whom might seem yet to remain any strength, or courage, likely to oppose them, they came to Reading, fortified there between the two rivers of Thames and Kenet, and, about three days after, sent-out wings of horse, under two earls to forage the country; † but Ethelwolf, earl of Berkshire, at Englefield, a village nigh, encountered them, slew one of their earls, and obtained a great victory. Four days after came the king himself and his brother Alfred with the main battle; and the Danes issuing-forth, a bloody fight began, with on either side great slaughter, in which earl Ethelwolf, lost his life; but the Danes, losing no ground, kept their place of standing to the end. Neither did the English, for this, make less haste to another conflict at Escesdune, or Ashdown, four days after; where both armies, with their whole force on either side, met. The Danes were embattled in two great bodies; the one led by Bascai and Halfden, their two kings; the other by such earls as were appointed. In like manner the English divided their powers; Ethelred, the king, stood against their kings; and, though on the lower ground, and coming later into the battle from his orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein Bascai (the Danish history names him Ivarus, the son of Regnerus) was slain. Alfred was placed against the earls, and, beginning the battle ere his brother came into the field, with such resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are named Sidroc elder and younger, Osbern, Freau, Harald: at length in both divisions the Danes turn ther backs; many thousands of them are cut-off, and the rest pursued till night. So much the more it may be wondered to hear next in the annals, that the Danes, fourteen days after such an overthrow, fighting again with Ethelred and his brother Alfred at Basing, (under conduct, saith the Danish history, of Agnerus and

Ethelred and his brother Alfred defeat the Danes in a great battle at Ashdown, A. D. 871.

\* Post Christ. 871. Sax. an.

† Asser.

Hubbo, brothers of the slain Ivarus,) should obtain the victory; especially since the new supply of Danes mentioned by Asser \* arrived after this action. But, after two months, the king and his brother fought with them again at Mertun, in two squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the Saxon annals deliver their meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for Asser is here silent) to be the chief fountain of our story, the ground and basis upon which the monks, later in time, gloss and comment at their pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the Saxon part, not Heamund the bishop only, but many valiant men lost their lives. † This fight was followed by a heavy summer plague; whereof, as is thought, king Etheldred died in the fifth year of his reign, and was buried at Winburn, where his epitaph inscribes that he had his death's wound by the Danes, according to the Danish history in the year 872.

Death of king Etheldred, A. D. 872.

Of all these terrible landings and devastations by the Danes, from the days of Ethelwolf till their two last battles with Ethelred; or of their leaders, whether kings, dukes, or earls, the Danish history of best credit saith nothing; so little wit or conscience it seems, they had to leave any memory of their brutish, rather than manly, actions; unless we shall suppose them to have come, as above was cited out of Asser, from Danubius, rather than from Denmark, more probably some barbarous nation of Prussia, or Livonia, not long before seated more northward on the Baltic sea.

### ALFRED.

ALFRED, the fourth son of Ethelwolf, had scarce performed his brother's obsequies, and the solemnity of his own crowning, when at the month's-end in haste with a small power he encountered the whole army of Danes at Wilton, and most part of the day foiled them; but unwarily following the chase, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary,

\* Pontan, Hist. Dan. l. 4.

† Camden,

N

remained



remained masters of the field. This year, as is affirmed in the annals, nine battles had been fought against the Danes on the south side of Thames, besides innumerable excursions made by Alfred and other leaders: one king, and nine earls were fallen in fight, so that, weary on both sides at the year's end, a league, or truce, was concluded. Yet next year \* the Danes took their march to London, now exposed to their prey; there they wintered, and thither came the Mercians to renew peace with them. The year following, they roved back to the parts beyond the Humber, but wintered at Torksey, in Lincolnshire, where the Mercians, now for the third time, made peace with them. Notwithstanding which, removing their camp to Rependune in Mercia †, (now Ripton upon Trent in Derbyshire,) and there wintering, they constrained Burhed, the king, to fly into foreign parts, making seizure of his kingdom; he, running the direct way to Rome ‡ (with better reason than his ancestors,) died there, and was buried in a church by the English school. His kingdom the Danes farmed-out to Kelwulf, one of his household-servants or officers, with condition to be resigned to them when they commanded. § From Rependune they dislodged; Hafden their king, leading part of his army northward, wintered by the river Tine, and subjecting all those quarters, wasted also the country of the Picts and British beyond: but Guthrun, Oskitell, and Anwynd, other three of their kings, moving from Rependune, came with a great army to Grantbrig, and remained there a whole year.

The Danes take possession of Mercia, A. D. 873.

Alfred builds a fleet of ships to prevent the invasions of the Danes.

But Alfred that summer proposing to try his fortune with a fleet at sea (for he had found that the want of shipping, and the neglect of navigation, had exposed the land to these piracies) met-with seven Danish rovers, and took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the English at that time were but little experienced in sea-affairs. The next || year's first motion of the Danes was towards Warham, castle, where Alfred meeting them, either by policy, or their doubt of his power, (Ethelwerd saith, by money) brought

\* Post Christ. 872. Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 874. Sax. an.

Christ, 876. Sax. an.

‡ Post Christ. 873. Sax. an. Camd.

§ Post Christ. 875, Sax, an,

|| Post

them



them to such terms of peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallowed bracelet, others say upon certain \* relics (a solemn oath it seems, which they never vouchsafed before to any other nation) forthwith to depart the land: but falsifying that oath, by night with all the horse they had (Asser saith †, slaying all the horsemen he had) stole to Exeter, and there wintered. In Northumberland, Hafden their king began to settle, to divide the land, to till, and to inhabit. Mean-while they in the west, who were marched to Exeter, entered the city, coursing now and then to Warham; but their fleet the next ‡ year, sailing or rowing about the west, met with such a tempest near to Swanswich or Gnavewic, as wrecked one hundred and twenty of their ships, and left the rest easy to be mastered by those galleys, which Alfred had set there to guard the seas, and straighten Exeter of provision. He the while beleaguering§ them in the city, now humbled with the loss of their navy, (two natives, saith Asser, the one at Gnavewic, the other at Swanwine) distressed them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he required, and as many oaths, to keep their covenanted peace, and kept it. For the summer coming-on, they departed into Mercia, whereof part they divided among themselves, part left to Ketwulf their substituted king. The twelfth-tide following||, all oaths forgotten, they came to Chippenham in Wiltshire, dispeopling the counties round, dispossessing some, and driving others beyond the sea; Alfred himself with a small company was forced to keep within woods and fenny places, and for some time all alone, as Florent saith, sojourned with Dunwulf a swineherd, who was made afterwards, for his devotion and aptness to learning, bishop of Winchester. Halfden and the brother of Hinguar ¶ coming with twenty-three ships from North Wales, where they had made great spoil, landed in Devonshire, nigh to a strong castle named Kinwith; where, by the garrison issuing-forth unexpectedly, they were slain with twelve hundred of their men. \*\* Mean-while the king about Easter, not despairing of

\* Florent. † Florent. ‡ Post Christ, 877. Sax. an.  
§ Asser. || Post Christ. 878. Sax. an. ¶ Sim. Dun. \*\* Asser.

his affairs, built a fortress at a place called Athelney in Somersetshire, therein valiantly defending himself and his followers, frequently sallying-forth. The seventh week after he rode-out to a place called Ecbyrt-stone in the east part of Selwood: thither resorted to him with much gratulation the Somerset and Wiltshire men. with many out of Hampshire, some of whom a little before had fled their country; with these marching to Ethandune, now Edindon in Wiltshire, he gave battle to the whole Danish power, and put them to flight\*. Then besieging their castle, within fourteen days took it. Malmsbury writes, that in this time of his recess, to go a spy into the Danish camp, he took upon him with one servant the habit of a fidler; by this means gaining access to the king's table, and sometimes to his bed chamber, got knowledge of their secrets, their careless encamping, and thereby this opportunity of assailing them on a sudden. The Danes, by this misfortune broken, gave him more hostages, and renewed their oaths to depart out of his kingdom. Their king Gytro, or Gothrun, offered willingly to receive baptism †, and accordingly came with thirty of his friends to a place called Aldra or Aulre, near to Athelney and were baptized at Wedmore; where Alfred received him out of the font, and named him Athelstan. After which they abode with him twelve days, and were dismissed with rich presents. Whereupon the Danes removed next ‡ year to Cirencester, thence peaceably to the East-Angles; which Alfred, as some write, had bestowed on Gothrun to hold of him; the bounds whereof may be read among the laws of Alfred. Others of them went to Fulham on the Thames, and joining there with a great fleet newly come into the river, thence passed-over into France and Flanders, both which they entered so far, conquering, or wasting, as witnessed sufficiently, that the French and Flemish were no more able than the English, by policy or prowess, to keep-off that Danish inundation from their land. § Alfred, thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent their landing;

He defeats the Danes  
in a great battle,  
A. D. 878.

He makes a treaty  
with Guthrun, a  
king of the Danes,  
A. D. 879.

Some of the Danes  
pass over from Eng-  
land into France,  
and lay waste the  
country, A D. 882.

\* Camden. † Camden.

‡ Post Christ. 879. Sax. an.

§ Post

Christ. 882. Sax. an.

three years after (quiet the mean-while) with more ships and better provided, puts to sea, and at first met-with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the men over-board; then met-with two others, wherein were two of their princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own.

\* After three years another fleet of them appeared on these seas; which was so great, that one part of them thought themselves sufficient to enter upon East-France, and the other came to Rochester, and beleaguered it; when they within stoutly defended themselves, till Alfred, with great forces, coming-down upon the Danes, drove them to their ships, leaving, for haste, all their horses behind them. † The same year Alfred sent a fleet towards the country of the East-Angles, then inhabited by the Danes; which, at the mouth of the Stour, meeting with sixteen Danish ships, after some fight, took them all, and slew all the soldiers on board; but in their way home after this victory, lying careless, they were overtaken by another part of that fleet, and came-off with loss: whereupon, perhaps, those Danes, who were settled among the East-Angles, erected with new hopes, violated the peace which they had sworn to Alfred ‡, who spent the next year in repairing London (besieging, saith Huntingdon) much ruined and unpeopled by the Danes; the Londoners, all but those who had been led-away captive §, soon returned to their dwellings, and Ethred, duke of Mercia, was by the king appointed their governour.

Alfred repairs the city of London, A. D. 886.

|| But after thirteen years respite of peace, another Danish fleet of two hundred and fifty sail, from the east part of France, arrived at the mouth of a river in East-Kent, called Limen, nigh to the great wood Andred, famous for length and breadth; into that wood they drew-up their ships four miles from the river's mouth, and built a fortress. After whom Haesten, with another Danish fleet of eighty ships, entering the mouth of Thames, built a fort at Middleton, the former army remaining at a place called Apeltre. Alfred, perceiving this, took of those Danes who dwelt in Northumberland a new oath of fidelity, and of those in Essex hostages,

The Danes invade England again with a powerful fleet, A. D. 893.

\* Post Christ. 885. Sax. an. 886, Sax. an, § Sim. Dun.

† Sim. Dun.

‡ Post Christ.

|| Post Christ. 893, Sax. an.

lest they should join, as they were wont, with their countrymen newly-arrived. \* And by the next year having got-together his forces, between either army of the Danes encamped so as to be ready for either of them, who first should happen to stir-forth; troops of horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spared from strong places, wherever the countries wanted them, to encounter foraging parties of the enemy. The king also divided sometimes his whole army, marching-out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrenched. In conclusion, rolling up and down, both sides met at Farnham in Surrey; where the Danes by Alfred's horse-troops were put to flight, and crossing the Thames to a certain island near Coln in Essex, or, as Camden thinks, by Colebrook, were besieged there by Alfred till provisions failed the besiegers; another part straid behind with their king, who was wounded. Mean-while Alfred, preparing to re-inforce the siege of Colney, the Danes of Northumberland, breaking faith, came by sea to the East-Angles, and with a hundred ships coasting southward, landed in Devonshire, and besieged Exeter. Thither Alfred hasted with his powers, except a squadron of Welsh that came to London: with whom the citizens marching-forth to Beamflet, where Haesten the Dane had built a strong fort, and left a garrison while he himself with the main of his army was entered far into the country, luckily surprise the fort, master the garrison, make prey of all they find there; their ships also they burnt or brought-away with good booty, and many prisoners, among whom the wife and two sons of Haesten were sent to the king, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon Haesten gave oath of amity and hostages to the king; he in requital, whether freely or by agreement, a sum of money. Nevertheless, without regard of faith given, while Alfred was busied about Exeter, joining with the other Danish army, he built another castle in Essex at Shoberie, thence marching westward by the Thames, aided with the Northumbrian and East-Anglish Danes, they came at length to Severn, pillaging all in

The Danes are defeated by king Alfred at Farnham in Surrey, A.D. 894.

\* Post Christ. 894. Sax. an.

their



their way. But Ethred, Ethelm, and Ethelnoth, the king's captains, with united forces pitched nigh to them at Buttington, on the Severn bank in Montgomeryshire\*, the river running between, and there many weeks attended; the king mean-while blocking-up the Danes who besieged Exeter, having eaten part of their horses, the rest, urged with hunger, broke-forth to their fellows, who lay encamped on the east side of the river, and were all there discomfited with some loss of valiant men on the king's party: the rest fled back to Essex, and their fortress there. Then Laf, one of their leaders, gathered before winter a great army of Northumbrian and East-English Danes, who, leaving their money, ships, and wives with the East-Angles, and marching day and night, sat-down before a city in the west called Wirheil near to Chester, and took it ere they could be overtaken. The English, after two days siege, hopeless to dislodge them, wasted the country round to cut-off from them all provision, and departed. † Soon after which, next year, the Danes, no longer able to hold Wirheal. destitute of victuals, entered North Wales; thence, laden with spoils, part returned into Northumberland, others to the East-Angles as far as Essex, where they seized on a small island called Meresig. And here again the annals record them to besiege Exeter, but without coherence of sense or story. ‡ Others relate to this purpose, that returning by sea from the siege of Exeter, and in their way landing on the coast of Sussex, they of Chichester sallied-out and slew of them many hundreds, taking also some of their ships. The same year they who possessed Meresig, intending to winter thereabout, drew-up their ships, some into the Thames, others into the river Lée, and on the bank thereof built a castle twenty miles from London; to assault which, the Londoners, aided with other forces, marched-out the summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the king's captains. § Huntingdon writes quite the contrary, that these four were Danish captains, and the overthrow theirs:

\* Camden.  
Florent.

† Post Christ. 895. Sax. an.  
§ Post Christ. 896. Sax. an.

‡ Sim, Dun.



but little credit is to be placed in Huntingdon single. For the king thereupon with his forces lay encamped nearer the city, that the Danes might not infest them in the time of harvest; in the mean time, subtilly devising to turn the stream of the river Lee several ways, whereby the Danish bottoms were left on dry ground; which they soon perceiving, marched over-land to Quatbrig on the Severn, built a fortress, and wintered there; while their ships, left in the Lee, were either broken or brought-away by the Londoners; but their wives and children they had left in safety with the East-Angles. \* The next year was pestilent, and besides the common sort, took-away many great earls, Kelmond in Kent, Brithulf in Essex, Wulfred in Hampshire, with many others; and to this evil the Danes in Northumberland and amongst the East-Angles ceased not to endamage the West-Saxons, especially by stealth, robbing on the south shore in certain long galleys. But the king causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy oars, and that were higher, swifter, and steadier than such as were in use before either with Danes or Frisons, and that were of his own invention; some of these he sent-out against six Danish pirates, who had done much harm in the Isle of Wight, and parts adjoining. The bickering was doubtful and intricate, part on the water, part on the sands; not without loss of some eminent men on the English side. The pirates at length were either slain or taken: two of their ships were stranded; the men brought to Winchester, where the king then was, were executed by his command; one of them escaped to the East-Angles, with her men much wounded: the same year not fewer than twenty of their ships perished on the south coast with all their men. And Rollo, the Dane, or Norman, landing here, as Mat. West. writes. (though he does not say in what part of the island,) after an unsuccessful fight against those forces which first opposed him, sailed into France and conquered the country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the sum of what passed in three years against the Danes, returning out of France, set-down so perplexedly by the Saxon annalist, ill-gifted with

King Alfred causes several ships to be built that are much larger and stronger than those of the Danes, with which he defeats them.

Rollo, the Dane, with a fleet of Danish ships is driven-away from England by king Alfred's troops, and goes to France, and conquers Normandy, A. D. 898.

\* Post Christ. 897. Sax. an.

utterance,

utterance, as with much ado can be understood sometimes what is spoken, whether meant of the Danes or of the Saxons. After which troublesome time, Alfred enjoying three years of peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idly or voluptuously, but in all virtuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a prince of his renown, ended his days in the year nine hundred \*, the fifty-first of his age, the thirtieth of his reign, and was buried regally at Winchester. He was born at a place called Wanading in Berkshire, his mother being Osburga, the daughter of Oslac, the king's cup-bearer, a Goth by nation, and of noble descent. He was of person comelier than all his brethren, of pleasing tongue and graceful behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet, through the fondness of his parents towards him, had not been taught to read till the twelfth year of his age; but the great desire of learning, which was in him, soon appeared by his conning of Saxon poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides excellent at hunting, and the, then new, art of hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a book certain prayers and psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosom to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and often complained, that in his youth he had had no teachers, and in his middle age so little vacancy from wars and the cares of his kingdom; yet he sometimes found leisure, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate thereof what he could to his people, by translating several books out of Latin into English, as Orosius, Boethius, Beda's history, and others; and he permitted none that were unlearned to bear office, either in court or commonwealth. At twenty years of age, though not yet reigning, he took to wife Egelswitha, the daughter of Ethelred, a Mercian earl. The extremities which betel him in the sixth of his reign, Neothan, an abbot, told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger days the complaints of such as, being injured and oppressed, repaired to him, as being then the second person in the kingdom, for redress; which neglect, (were it such indeed,) would

The Death of king  
Alfred, A. D. 900.

His character.

\* Post Christ. 900. Asser.

yet

yet have been excusable in a youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps to be detained long with sad and sorrowful narrations. But from the time of his undertaking the regal charge, no man was more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive in examining, more exact in doing justice, and providing good laws, which are yet extant; or more severe in punishing unjust judges, or obstinate offenders, and especially thieves and robbers, to the terrour of whom, in cross ways were hung upon a high post certain chains of gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; so that justice seemed in his days not to flourish only, but to triumph. No man than he was more frugal of two precious things in man's life, his time and his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of both. His time, the day and night, he distributed, by the burning of certain tapers, into three equal portions; the one was for devotion, the other for public or private affairs, the third for bodily refreshment; how each hour passed, he was put in mind by one who had that office. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was that it should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts; the first he employed to secular uses, and subdivided those into three, the first to pay his soldiers, household-servants and guard, of which, divided into three bands, one attended monthly by turn; the second was to pay his architects and workmen, whom he had got-together of several nations; for he was also an elegant builder, above the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days: the third he had in readiness to relieve, or honour, strangers according to their worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two monasteries, the third of a school, where he had persuaded the sons of many noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal arts, some say at Oxford\*; the fourth was for the relief of foreign churches, as far as India to the shrine of St. Thomas, sending thither Sigelm. bishop of Sherburn, who both

\* Malms.

returned safe, and brought with him many rich gems and spices; gifts also and a letter he received from the patriarch at Jerusalem; sent many to Rome, and from them received relics. Thus far, and much more might be said of his noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of princes. His body was diseased in his youth with a great soreness in the siege: and, that ceasing of itself, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which, after intervals of ease, returning upon him by frequent fits, continued to molest him to his dying day: yet did not render him unable to sustain those many glorious labours of his life both in peace and war, which have been above described.

### EDWARD the Elder.

EDWARD, the son of Alfred, succeeded him\*; in learning not equal, but in power and extent of dominion surpassing his father. The beginning of his reign had much disturbance by Ethelwald, an ambitious young man†, who was son of the king's uncle, or cousin-german, or brother: for his genealogy is variously delivered. He vainly avouching to have equal right with Edward, of succession to the crown, possessed himself of Wimburn in Dorsetshire‡, and of another town diversly named, giving-out that there he would live or die; but, being encompassed with the king's forces at Badbury, a place nigh, his heart failed him, and he stole-out by night, and fled to the Danish army beyond the Humber. The king sent after him, but not overtaking, found his wife in the town, whom he had married out of a nunnery, and he commanded her to be sent-back thither. § About this time the Kentish-men against a multitude of Danish pirates fought prosperously at a place called Holme, as Hoveden records. Ethelwald, aided by the Northumbrians with shipping, three years after||, sailing to the East-Angles, persuaded the Danes there to fall into the king's territory, who, marching with him as far as Cracklad, and passing the Thames there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and, laden with spoils, returned home. The king with his powers

Ethelwald opposes king Edward's succession to the crown

\* Malm. Christ. 902.

† Hunting.

‡ Post Christ. 901, Sax. an.

§ Post.

|| Post Christ. 905, Sax. an.

making



making speed after them, between the Dike and Ouse, supposed to be Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, as far as the fens northward, laid-waste all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanded that all his army should follow him close without delay; but the Kentishmen, though often called-upon, lagging behind, the Danish army prevented them, and joined battle with the king: where duke Sigulf and earl Sigelm, with many other of the nobles, were slain; on the Danes part, Eoric their king, and Ethelwald the author of this war, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both sides; yet the Danes kept in their power the burying of their slain. Whatever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the king two years after with the Danes \*, both of East-Angles and Northumberland, concluded peace, which continued three years, by whomsoever broken for at the end thereof † king Edward, raising great forces out of West-Sex and Mercia, sent them against the Danes beyond the Humber; where staying five weeks, they made great spoil and slaughter. The king offered them terms of peace; but they, rejecting all, entered with the next year into Mercia ‡, rendering no less hostility than they had suffered; but at Tetnal in Staffordshire, saith Florent, were by the English in a set battle overthrown. King Edward, then in Kent, had got-together of ships about a hundred sail; others, gone southward, came-back and met him. The Danes, now supposing that his main forces were upon the sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond the Severn. § The king, guessing what might embolden them, sent before him the lightest of his army to entertain them, then following with the rest, set upon them in their return over Cantbrig in Gloucestershire, and slew many thousands; among whom Ecwils, Hafden, and Hinguar their kings, and many other harsh names in Huntingdon; the place also of this fight is variously written, by Ethelwerd and Florent, called Wodensfield. || The year following, Ethred,

He is afterwards slain in a battle against king Edward, A. D. 905.

King Edward gains a great victory over the Danes at Wodensfield, A. D. 911.

Death of Ethred, duke of Mercia, A. D. 912,

\* Post Christ. 907. Sax. an. † Post Christ. 910. Sax. an. ‡ Post Christ. 911. Sax. an. § Ethelwerd. || Post Christ. 912, Sax. an.



the duke of Mercia, to whom Alfred had given London; with his daughter in marriage, now dying, king Edward resumed that city, and Oxford, with the countries adjoining, into his own hands; and the year after \* built, or much repaired by his soldiers, the town of Hertford on either side Lee; and having a sufficient number at the work, marched about middle-summer with the other part of his forces into Essex, and encamped at Maldon, while his soldiers built Witham; where a good part of the country, subject formerly to the Danes, yielded themselves to his protection. † Four years after (Florent allows but one year) the Danes from Leicester and Northampton, falling into Oxfordshire, committed much rapine, and, in some towns thereof, great slaughter; while another party, wasting Hertfordshire, met with other fortune: for the country people, inured now to such kind of incursions, joining stoutly together, fell upon the spoilers, and recovered their own goods, with some booty from their enemies. About the same time Elfred, the king's sister, sent her army of Mercians into Wales, who routed the Welsh ‡, took the castle of Bricnan-mere by Brecknock, and brought-away the king's wife of that country, with other prisoners. Not long after she took Derby from the Danes, and the castle by a sharp assault. § But the year ensuing brought a new fleet of Danes to Ledwic in Devonshire, under two leaders, Otter and Roald; who sailing thence westward about the land's end, came-up to the mouth of the Severn; there landing wasted the Welsh coast, and Irchenfield, part of Herefordshire; where they took Kuneleac a British bishop, for whose ransom king Edward gave forty pound: but the men of Hereford and Gloucestershire assembling put them to flight; slaying Roald and the brother of Otter, with many more, pursued them to a wood, and, there beset, compelled them to give hostages of present departure. The king with his army sat not far off, securing from the south of Severn to Avon; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventured

Martial actions of Elfred, dutchess of Mercia.

\* Post Christ. 913. Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 917, Sax. an.

‡ Huntingd. Cand.

§ Post Christ. 918. Sax. an.

to land ; but found such welcome that few of them came-back ; the rest anchored by a small island, where many of them were famished ; then sailing to a place called Deomed, they crossed into Ireland. The king with his army went to Buckingham, staid there a month, and built two castles, or forts, on either bank of Ouse ere his departing ; and Turkitel, a Danish leader, with those of Bedford and Northampton, yielded him subjection. \* Whereupon the next year he came with his army to the town of Bedford, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the town, on the south side of the Ouse. † Thence, the year following, he went again to Maldon, repaired and fortified the town. Turkitell, the Dane, having small hope to thrive here, where things with such prudence were managed against his interest, got leave of the king, with as many voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into France. ‡ Early the next year king Edward re-edified Tovechester, now Torchester ; and another city in the annals called Wiggingmere. Mean while the Danes in Leicester and Northamptonshire, not liking perhaps to be neighboured with strong towns, laid siege to Torchester ; but, finding that the people within the town repelled the assault one whole day till supplies came, quitted the siege by night ; and, being pursued closely by the besieged, between Birnwud and Ailsbury were surprised, and many of them made prisoners, and much of their baggage lost. Others of the Danes at Huntingdon, aided from the East-Angles, finding that castle not commodious, left it, and built another at Temsford, judging that place more opportune from whence to make their excursions ; and soon after went-forth with design to assail Bedford : but the garrison, issuing-out, slew a great part of them, and the rest fled. After this a great army of them, gathered out of Mercia and the East-Angles, came and besieged the city called Wiggingmere a whole day ; but, finding it defended stoutly by them within, thence also departed, driving-away much of their cattle : whereupon the English, from towns and cities round about

\* Post Christ. 919. Sax. an. † Post Christ, 920. Sax. an.

‡ Post Christ, 921. Sax. an.

joining forces, laid siege to the town and castle of Tempsford, and by assault took both; slew their king with Toglea a duke, and Mannan, his son, an earl, with all the rest there found; who chose to die rather than yield. Encouraged by this, the men of Kent, Surrey, and part of Essex, enterprised the siege of Colchester, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the town and putting to the sword all the Danes therein, except some who escaped over the wall. To the succour of these a great number of Danes inhabiting ports and other towns in the country of the East-Angles, united their force; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguered Maldon: but, that town also being timely relieved, they departed, and were not only frustrated of their design, but so hotly pursued, that many thousands of them lost their lives in the flight. Forthwith king Edward with his West-Saxons went to Passham upon the river Ouse, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone wall about Torchester; to him their earl, Thurfert, and other lord Danes, with their army thereabout, as far as Weolud, came and submitted. Whereat the king's soldiers joyfully cried out to be dismissed home: therefore with another part of them he entered Huntingdon, and repaired it, where breaches had been made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at Colchester by the next remove of his army; after which both East and West-Angles, and the Danish forces among them, yielded to the king, swearing allegiance to him both by sea and land: the army also of Danes at Grantbrig, surrendering themselves, took the same oath. The summer following \* he came with his army to Stamford, built a castle there on the south side of the river, where all the people of these quarters acknowledged him supreme. During his abode there, Elfled, his sister, (a martial woman, who after her husband's death would no more marry, but gave herself to public affairs, repairing and fortifying many towns, and sometimes making war,) died at Tamworth, the chief seat of Mercia, whereof, by gift of Alfred her father, she was lady, or queen; whereby that whole nation became obe-

All the Danes that had settlements in England submit to king Edward, and take an oath of allegiance to him, A. D. 922.

Death of Elfled, dutchess of Mercia, the daughter of king Alfred, A. D. 922.

\* Post Christ, 922, Sax. an.

The king of Scots  
acknowledges king  
Edward as his supe-  
rior Lord, A. D. 924.

dient to king Edward, as did also North-Wales, with Howel, Cledaucus, and Jeothwell, their kings. Thence passing to Nottingham, he entered and repaired the town, placed there part English, part Danes, and received fealty from all in Mercia of either nation. \* The next autumn, coming with his army into Cheshire, he built and fortified Thelwel; and, while he staid there, called another army out of Mercia, which he sent to repair and fortify Manchester. † About midsummer following he marched again to Nottingham, built a town over against it on the south side of that river, and with a bridge joined them both; thence journied to a place called Bedecanwillan in Pictland; there also built and fenced a city on the borders, where the king of Scots did him honour as to his sovereign, together with the whole Scottish nation; the like Reginold did and the son of Eadulf, Danish princes, with all the Northumbrians, both English and Danes. The king also of a people thereabout called Streatgledwalli (the North-Welsh, as Camden thinks, of Strait-Cluid in Denbighshire, perhaps rather the British of Cumberland) did him homage, and not undeserved. ‡ For Buchanan himself confesses, that this king Edward, with a small number of men compared to his enemies, overthrew in a great battle the whole united power both of Scots and Danes, slew most of the Scottish nobility, and forced Malcolm, whom Constantine the Scottish king had made general, and designed heir of his crown, to save himself by flight sore wounded. Of the English he makes Athelstan, the son of Edward, chief leader; and so far seems to confound times and actions, as to make this battle the same with that fought by Athelstan about twenty-four years after at Bruneford, against Anlaf and Constantine, whereof hereafter. But here Buchanan § takes occasion to inveigh against the English writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm Athelstan to have been supreme king of Britain, and Constantine, the Scottish king, with others, to have held of him: and denies that in the annals of Marianus Scotus

\* Post Christ. 923, Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 924.

‡ Buch. l. 6.

§ Buch. l. 6.



any mention is to be found thereof; which I shall not stand much to contradict; for in Marianus, (whether by his surname; or from his native country called) Scotus, will be found as little mention of any other Scottish affairs, till the time of king Dunchad slain by Machetad, or Mackbeth, in the year 1040: which gives cause of suspicion, that the affairs of Scotland before that time were so obscure, as to be unknown to their own countryman, who lived and wrote his chronicle not long after. But king Edward thus nobly doing, and thus honoured, the year\* following died at Farendon; having, through all his reign, been a builder and restorer, even in time of war, not a destroyer of his land. He had by several wives many children; his eldest daughter, Edgith, he gave in marriage to Charles, king of France, grandchild of Charles the Bald above-mentioned; of the rest in place convenient. His laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at Winchester, in the monastery, near Alfred his father. And a few days after him died Ethelwerd his eldest son, the heir of his crown. He had the whole island in subjection, yet so as petty kings reigned under him†. In Northumberland, after Ecbert whom the Danes had set-up, and the Northumbrians, yet unruly under their yoke, at the end of six years had expelled, one Ricsig was set-up king, and bore the name three years; then another Ecbert, and Guthred; the latter, if we believe legends, of a servant had been made king by command of St. Cudbert, in a vision; and enjoined by another vision of the same saint, to pay well for his royalty many lands and privileges to his church and monastery. But now to the story.

The death of king Edward, A. D. 925.

The disturbed state of Northumberland.

### ATHELSTAN.

ATHELSTAN, next in age to Ethelward his brother, (who deceased untimely few days before,) though born of a concubine, yet for the great appearance of many virtues in him and his brethren being yet under age, was exalted to the throne at Kingston upon Thames, † and by his father's last will, saith Malmshury; yet not

\* Post Christ, 925. Sax, an. Huntingd. Mat. West. † Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ, 926.



without some opposition of one Alfred and his accomplices; who, not liking he should reign, had conspired to seize on him after his father's death, and to put-out his eyes. But the conspirators were discovered, and Alfred, denying the plot, \* was sent to Rome, to assert his innocence before the Pope; where taking his oath on the altar, he fell-down immediately, and, being carried-out by his servants, three days after died. Mean while beyond the Humber the Danes, though much awed, were not idle. Inguald, one of their kings, took possession of York; Sitric, who some years † before had slain Niel his brother, by force took Davenport in Cheshire; and, however he defended these doings, grew so considerable, ‡ that Athelstan with great solemnity gave him his sister Edgith to wife: but he enjoyed her not long, dying ere the year's end; nor did his sons Anlaf and Guthfert long enjoy the kingdom, being driven-out the next § year by Athelstan; not unjustly, saith Huntingdon, as being the first raisers of the war. Simeon calls him Gudfrid, a British king, whom Althelstan this year drove-out of his kingdom; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only mistaken. Malmsbury differs in the name also, calling him Adulf, a certain rebel.

Them also, I wish as much mistaken, who write that Athelstan, (jealous of his younger brother Edwin's towardly virtues, lest, added to the right of birth, they might, some time or other, call in question his illegitimate precedence,) caused him to be drowned in the sea ||; exposed, some say, with one servant in a rotten bark, without sail or oar; where the youth, far off land, and in rough weather, despairing, threw himself over-board; the servant more patient, got to land and reported the success. But this Malmsbury confesses to be sung in old songs, but not read in warrantable authors: and Huntingdon speaks as of a sad accident to Athelstan, that he lost his brother Edwin by sea; which seems far the more credible story in that, Athelstan, as it is written by all, tenderly loved and bted-up the rest of his brethren, of whom he had no less cause to be jealous than of Edwin. And

Of the death of Edwin, the younger brother of Athelstan, who was born in lawful wedlock.

Athelstan invades Scotland with great success, A. D. 934.

\*-Malms. † Sim. Dun. ‡ Malms. Mat. West § Post  
Christ. 927. Sax, an. || Post Christ, 933, Sim. Dun.

the Year \* following he prospered better than, after the commission of so foul a deed, could be expected, in marching into Scotland with great puissance, both by sea and land, and chasing his enemies before him, by land as far as Dunfeoder and Wertermore; and by sea, as far as Caithness. The cause of this expedition, saith Malmesbury, was to demand Guthfert, the son of Sitric, thither fled, though not denied at length by Constantine, who, with Eugenius king of Cumberland, at a place called Dacor, or Dacre, in that shire, surrendered himself, and each of them his kingdom, to Athelstan, who brought-back with him, for a hostage, the son of Constantine†. But Guthfert, escaping in the mean-while out of Scotland, and Constantine exasperated by this invasion, persuaded Anlaf, the other son of Sitric, who had then fled into Ireland ‡ (others write Anlaf, king of Ireland and the Isles, his son-in-law,) with six hundred and fifteen ships, and the king of Cumberland with other forces, to come to his aid. This within four years ¶ effected, they entered England by the Humber, and fought with Athelstan, at a place called Wendune, (others term it Brunanburgh, others Bruneford,) which Ingulf places beyond the Humber, Camden in Glendale of Northumberland on the Scotch borders;) the bloodiest fight, say authors, that ever this island saw; to describe which the Saxon annalist (who is wont to be sober and succinct,) whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his argument, and overcharged, runs on a sudden into such extravagant fancies and metaphors, as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. Huntingdon, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his readers. I shall only sum-up what of him I can attain, in usual language. The battle was fought eagerly from morning till night; some fell of king Edward's old army, try'd in many a battle before; but on the other side great multitudes; and the rest fled to their ships. Five kings, and seven of Anlaf's chief captains were slain on the place with Froda, a Norman leader; Constantine escaped home, but lost his son in the fight. if I understand my author; Anlaf fled by sea to Dublin, with

Constantine, king of Scotland, and Eugenius, king of Cumberland, invade England with a powerful fleet and army, A. D. 938.

They fight a great battle with king Athelstan, at Bruneford, in which they are defeated with great loss.

\* Post Christ. 934. Sax. an. Sim. Dun.

† Florent, ‡ Florent, Sim. Dun. ¶ Post Christ. 938 Sax. an. Malmis.

Malmsbury's account of this great battle.

a small remainder of his great host. Malmsbury relates this war, adding many circumstances, after this manner : that Anlaf joining with Constantine and the whole power of Scotland, besides those which he brought with him out of Ireland, came on far southwards, till Athelstan, who had retired on set purpose to be the surer of his enemies enclosed from all succour and retreat, met him at Bruneford. Anlaf perceiving the valour and resolution of Athelstan, and mistrusting his own forces, though numerous, resolved first to spy in what posture his enemies lay : and (imitating, perhaps, what he had heard to have been attempted by king Alfred in the Age before,) in the habit of a musician, got access, by his lute and voice, to the king's tent, there playing both the minstrel and the spy : then, towards evening, being dismissed, he was observed by one who had been his soldier, and well knew him, to have been viewing earnestly the king's tent, and what approaches lay about it, and then in the twilight to depart. The soldier forthwith acquaints the king, and being by him blamed for letting go his enemy, answered, that he had given, first, his military oath to Anlaf, whom if he had betrayed, the king might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advised him to remove his tent a good distance off : and that being so done, it happened that a bishop with his retinue coming to that army, pitched his tent in the same place from whence the king had removed his. Anlaf, coming by night, as he had designed, to assault the camp, and especially the king's tent, finding there the bishop in stead, slew him with all his followers. Athelstan took the alarm, and, as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that, the day now appearing, he put his men in order and maintained the fight till evening; wherein Constantine himself was slain with five other kings, and twelve earls; the Saxon annals were content with seven, in the rest not disagreeing. Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, from the authority of Turketul, a principal leader in this battle, relates it more at large to this effect : That Athelstan above a mile distant from the place where execution was done upon the bishop and his supplies, alarmed at the noise, came down by break of day upon Anlaf and his army, overwatched and wearied now with the

Ingulf's account of the same battle.

the slaughter they had made, and something out of order, yet in two main battles. The king therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part consisting mostly of West-Saxons, against Anlaf with his Danes and Irish, committing the other to his chancellor Turketel, with the Mercians and Londoners, against Constantine and his Scots. The shower of arrows and darts over-passed, both battles attacked each other with a close and terrible engagement, for a long space neither side giving ground. Till the chancellor Turketel, a man of great stature and strength, taking with him a few Londoners of select valour, and Singin who led the Worcestershire men, (a captain of undaunted courage,) broke into the thickest, making his way first through the Picts and Orkneyers, then through the Cumbrians and Scots, and came at length where Constantine himself fought, unhorsed him, and used all means to take him alive; but, the Scots valiantly defending their king, and laying load upon Turketel, which the goodness of his armour well endured, he had yet been beaten down, had not Singin, his faithful second, at the same time slain Constantine: which being once known, Anlaf and the whole army betook themselves to flight, whereof a huge multitude fell by the sword. This Turketel, not long after, leaving worldly affairs, became abbot of Croyland, which at his own cost he had repaired from Danish ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. Athelstan, with his brother Edmund, victorious, thence turning into Wales, with much more ease vanquished Ludwal the king, and possessed his Land. But Malmsbury writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displaced, so he restored both him and Constantine to their regal state; for the surrender of king Constantine hath been above spoken-of. However the Welch did him homage at the city of Hereford, and covenanted yearly payment of gold twenty pound, of silver three hundred, of oxen twenty-five thousand, besides hunting-dogs and hawks. He also took Exeter from the Cornish Britains, who till that time had equal right there with the English, and bounded them with the river Tamar, as the other British with the Wey.

Athelstan then defeats Ludwal king of Wales, and imposes upon him the payment of a large yearly tribute.

And then takes the city of Exeter, and narrows the bounds of Cornwall, which was inhabited by the Britains.

Thus dreaded of his enemies, and renowned far and near,



Death of Athelstan,  
A. D. 941.

three years \* after he died at Gloucester, and was buried with many trophies at Malmsbury, where he had caused to be laid his two cousin-germans, Elwin and Ethelstan, both slain in the battle against Anlaf. He was thirty years old at his coming to the crown, mature in wisdom from his childhood, comely of person and behaviour; so that Alfred his grandfather, in blessing him, was wont to pray that he might live to have the kingdom, and put him, while yet a child, into a soldier's habit. He had his breeding in the court of Elfled his aunt, of whose virtues, more than female, we have spoken above; which is sufficient to evince that his mother, though said to be no wedded wife, was yet such a person, as to parentage and worth, as the royal line disdained not to converse with; though the song went in Malmsbury's days (for it seems he refused not the Authority of ballads for want of better memorials) that his mother was a farmer's daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamt one night she brought forth a moon that should enlighten the whole land: which the king's nurse hearing of, took her home and bred-up courtly; that the king coming one day to visit his nurse, saw there this damsel, liked her, and, by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous Athelstan a bounteous, just, and affable king, as Malmsbury sets him forth; not less honoured abroad by foreign kings who sought his friendship by great gifts, or by seeking his affinity; that Harold, king of Noricum, sent him a ship, whose prow was of gold, sails purple, and other golden things; the more to be wondered-at, as sent from Noricum, whether that name meant Norway or Bavaria, the one place being so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other so far from all sea: the ambassadors were Helgrim and Offrid, who found the king at York. His sisters he gave in marriage to the greatest princes; Eglif to Otho, son of Henry the emperor; Edgith to a certain duke about the Alps; Edgiv to Ludwic, king of Aquitain, sprung of Charles the Great; Ethilda to Hugo, king of France, who sent Elduf, son of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, to obtain her. From all these great suitors, especially from the emperor and king of France, came rich presents, horses of excellent breed, gorgeous trappings

\* Post Christ. 941. Sax. an. Malms. Ingulf.

and



and armour, relics, jewels, odours, vessels of onyx, and other precious things, which I leave poetically described in Malmsbury, in verses, taken, as he confesses, out of an old versifier, some of which verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his brother Edwin to danger, who had disavowed by oath the treason whereof he was accused, and implored an equal hearing. But these were songs, as before hath been said, which add also that Athelstan, when his anger over, soon repented of the fact, and put to death his cup-bearer, who had induced him to suspect and expose his brother, having been put in mind of that unhappy action by a word falling from the cup-bearer's own mouth, who, slipping one day as he bore the king's cup, and recovering himself on the other leg, said aloud fatally, as to him it proved, "one brother helps the other." Which words the king laying to heart, and pondering how ill he had done to make-away his brother, avenged himself first on the adviser of that fact, and then took on himself a penance of seven years, and, as Mat. West. saith, built two monasteries for the soul of his brother. His are extant among the laws of other Saxon kings to this day.

### EDMUND.

EDMUND, not above eighteen years \* old, succeeded his brother Athelstan, in courage not inferior. For in the second year of his reign he freed Mercia of the Danes that remained there, and took from them the cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Derby, and Leicester, where they were placed by king Edward, but, it seems, gave not good proof of their fidelity. Simeon writes that Anlaf, setting-forth from York, and having wasted southward as far as Northampton, was met by Edmund at Leicester; but that, ere the battles joined, peace was made between them by Odo and Wulstan, the two archbishops, with the conversion of Anlaf to the christian religion; for the same year Edmund received at the font-stone this, or another, Anlaf, as saith Huntingdon, not him spoken of before,

\* Post Christ. 942. Sax. an.

who died this year (so uncertain they are in the story of these times also) and held Reginald, another king of the Northumbers, while the bishop confirmed him: their limits were divided north and south by Watlingstreet. But spiritual kindred little availed to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cause for breaking it; for we read him, two years\* after, driving Anlaf (whom the Saxon annals now first call the son of Sitric) and Suthfrid, the son of Reginald, out of Northumberland, and taking the whole country into subjection to himself. Edmund, the next † year, harrassed Cumberland, then gave it to Malcolm king of Scots, who was thereby bound to assist him in his wars, both by sea and land. Mat. West. adds. that in this action Edmund had the aid of Leolin, prince of North-Wales, against Du nmair; the Cumbrian king, him depriving of his kingdom, and his two sons of their sight. But the year † after, he himself by strange accident came to an untimely death: for, feasting with his nobles, on St. Austin's day, at Pucklekerke in Gloucestershire, to celebrate the memory of his first converting the Saxons; he spied Leof, a noted thief, whom he had banished, sitting among his guests: whereat transported with too much vehemence of spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the table he run upon the thief, and catching his hair, pulled him to the ground. The thief, who doubted, from such handling, no less than his death to be intended, thought to die not unrevenged; and with a short dagger struck the king, (who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination,) mortally into the breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere men sitting at table could turn round, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till, perceiving the king to be deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hewed him to pieces; who, like a wild beast at a bay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The king was buried at Glaston, whereof Dunstan was then abbot; his laws yet remain to be seen among the laws of other Saxon kings.

The death of king  
Edmund, A. D. 946.

\* Post Christ. 944. Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 945. Sax. an.

† Post Christ. 946. Sax. an.

EDRED.

EDRED, the third brother of Athelstan, (the sons of Edmund being yet but children,) next reigned, not degenerating from his worthy predecessors, and was crowned at Kingston. Northumberland he thoroughly subdued; and the Scots, without refusal, swore him allegiance; yet the Northumbrians, ever of doubtful faith, soon after chose to themselves one Eric, a Dane. Huntingdon still haunts us with this Anlaf (of whom we gladly would have been rid) and will have him, before Eric, be recalled once more to the throne, and to reign four years\*, and then to be again put to his shifts. But Edred turning, Eric the king fell upon his rear. Edred turning-about, both shook-off the enemy, and prepared to make a second inroad: which the Northumbrians dreading rejected Eric, slew Amancus the son of Anlaf, and with many presents appeasing Edred, submitted again to his government†; and from that time had no kings, but were governed by earls, of whom Osulf was the first. ‡ About this time Wulstan, archbishop of York, accused to have slain certain men of Thetford in revenge of their abbot, whom the townsmen had slain, was committed by the king to close custody; but, soon after was enlarged, and restored to his place. Malmsbury writes, that his crime was ‘to have connived at the revolt of his countrymen. But king Edred, two years after, § sickening in the flower of his youth, died much lamented, and was buried at Winchester.

Death of king Edred,  
A. D. 955.

EDWI.

EDWI, the son of Edmund, now come to age ||, after his uncle Edred’s death took on him the government, and was crowned at Kingston. His lovely person caused him to be surnamed *the fair*; his actions are diversly reported: by Huntingdon not thought illaudable. But Malmsbury, and such as follow him, write far otherwise; that he married, or kept as a concubine, his near kinswoman¶.

\* Post Christ. 950. Sim. Dun. † Hoved. ‡ Post. Christ. 955. Sim. Dun. § Post Christ. 955, Sim. Dun. || Ethelwerd. ¶ Mat. West.  
Some

Some say both her and her daughter; so inordinately given to his pleasure, that on the very day of his coronation he abruptly withdrew himself from the company of his peers, whether in banquet or consultation, to sit wantoning in the chamber with his Algiva; so was her name, who had such power over him. Whereat his barons offended sent bishop Dunstan, the boldest among them, to request his return: he, going to the chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance, and rebuked the lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and persuasion brought him back to his nobles. The king highly displeased\*, and instigated, perhaps, by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent Dunstan into banishment, caused his monastery to be rifled, and became an enemy to all monks and friars. Whereupon Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced a separation, or divorce of the king from Algiva. But that which most incited William of Malsbury against him, was that he gave that monastery to be dwelt-in by secular priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a stable of clerks; at length these affronts done to the church were so resented by the people, that the Mercians and Northumbrians revolted from him, and set-up Edgar his brother†, leaving to Edwi the West-Saxons only, bounded by the river Thames; with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his days‡, and was buried at Winchester. Meanwhile § Elfin, bishop of that place, after the death of Odo ascending by simony to the chair of Canterbury, and going to Rome the same year for his pall, was frozen to death in the Alps.

Death of king Edwi,  
A. D. 959.

### EDGAR.

EDGAR by his brother's death now || king of all England at sixteen years of age, called home Dunstan out of Flanders, where he lived in exile. This king had no war all his reign; yet, always well prepared for war, governed the kingdom in great peace, honour and pros-

\* Post. Christ. 956.

† Hoved.

‡ Post Christ. 955. Sax. an.

§ Post Christ. 958. Mat. West.

|| Post Christ. 959. Malm.



perity, gaining thence the surname of *peaceable*, much extolled for justice, clemency, and all kingly virtues\*, the more, ye may be sure, by monks, for his building so many monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favoured the monks against secular priests, who, in the time of Edwi, had got possession of most of their convents. His care and wisdom was great in guarding the coast round with stout ships to the number of three thousand six hundred. Mat. West. reckons them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the land, meeting each other; the first of twelve hundred sail from east to west, the second of as many from west to east, the third and fourth between north and south; himself in the summer-time with his fleet. Thus he kept-out wisely the force of strangers, and prevented foreign war; but, by their too frequent resort hither in time of peace; and his too much favouring them, he let in their vices unaware. Thence the people, saith Malmesbury, learned of the outlandish Saxons rudeness, of the Flemish daintiness and softness, of the Danes drunkenness; though I doubt these vices are as naturally home-bred here as in any of those countries. Yet in the winter and spring-time he usually rode the circuit as a judge itinerant, through all his provinces, to see justice well administered, and the poor not oppressed. Thieves and robbers he rooted almost out of the land, and wild beasts of prey altogether; enjoining Ludwal, king of Wales, to pay the yearly tribute of three hundred wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was the cause, he was not crowned till the thirtieth of his age, but then with great splendour and magnificence at the city of Bath, in the feast of Pentecost. This year † died Swarling a monk of Croyland, in the hundred and forty-second year of his age, and another soon after him in the hundred and fifteenth; in that fenny and waterish air

King Edgar keeps up a fleet of 3600 ships, which prevents the Danes from invading England.

He imposes upon<sup>11</sup> Ludwal, king of Wales, a tribute of the heads of three hundred wolves in a year.

He is crowned at<sup>12</sup> Bath with great magnificence, A. D. 973.

\* Mat. West.

† Post Christ. 973. Sax. an. Ingulf.



Several subordinate kings in Britain do homage to king Edgar, A. D. 974.

His death in A. D. 975.

His donations to Kened, king of Scotland.

His character.

the more remarkable. King Edgar the next \* year went to Chester, and summoning to his court there all the kings that held of him, took homage of them; their names are Kened, king of Scots, Malcolm of Cumberland, Maccuse of the Isles, five of Wales, Dufwal, Huwal, Griffith, Jacob, Judethil; these he had in such awe, that, going one day into a galley, he caused them to take each man his oar, and row him down the river Dee, in which he himself sat at the stern; which might be done in merriment, and easily obeyed; but, if done with a serious brow, discovered rather vain-glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously triumphing, appears by his words then uttered, "that his successors might then glory to be kings of England, when they had such honour done them." And perhaps, the divine power was displeased with him for taking too much honour to himself; since we read, that † the year following he was taken out of this life by sickness in the height of his glory and the prime of his age. He was buried at Glaston abbey. The same year, as Mat. West relates, he gave to Kened, the Scotch king, many rich presents; and the whole country of Laudian, or Lothien, to hold of him on condition, that he and his successors should repair to the English court at high festivals when the king sat crowned; gave him also many lodging-places by the way, which, till the days of Henry the second were still held by the kings of Scotland.

He was of stature not tall, of body slender, yet so well made, that in strength he chose to contend with such as were thought strongest, and disliked nothing more, than that they should spare him for respect, or fear to hurt him. Kened, king of Scots, then in the court of Edgar, sitting one day at table, was heard to say jestingly among his servants, he wondered how so many provinces could be held in subjection by such a little, dapper man: his words were brought to the king's ear; he sends for Kened as about some private business, and in talk drawing him forth to a secret place, takes from under his garment two swords, which he had brought with him,

\* Post Christ. 974, Sax, an,

† Post Christ. 975,

gave

gave one of them to Kened; and now, saith he, it shall be tried which ought to be the subject; for it is shameful for a king to boast at table, and shrink in fight. Kened, much abashed, fell presently at his feet, and besought him to pardon what he had simply spoken, no way intended to his dishonour or disparagement; where-with the king was satisfied. Camden, in his description of Ireland, cites a charter of king Edgar, wherein it appears he had in subjection all the kingdoms of the isles as far as Norway, and had subdued the greatest part of Ireland with the city of Dublin: but of this other writers make no mention.

In his youth, having heard of Elfrida, daughter to Ordgar, duke of Devonshire, much commended for her beauty, he sent earl Athelwold, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answered report, to demand her in marriage. He, at the first view taken with her presence, disloyally, (as it often happens in such employments,) began to sue for himself; and, with consent of her parents, obtained her. Returning therefore with scarce an ordinary commendation of her feature, he easily took-off the king's mind, which was soon diverted another way. But, the matter coming to light how Athelwold had forestalled the king, and Elfrida's beauty being more and more spoken-of, the king, now heated not only with a relapse of love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair wife. The earl seemingly assured his welcome, but in the mean-while acquainting his wife, earnestly advised her to deform herself what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the king, (whose amorous inclination was not unknown,) should chance to be attracted. She, (who by this time was not ignorant, how Athelwold had stepped between her and the king,) against his coming arrays herself richly, using whatever art she could devise that might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the king, inflamed with her love the more for that he had been so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolved not only to recover his intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destined spouse; and appointing with him,

The occasion of his marriage with Elfrida, his second wife.

him, as was usual, a day of hunting, drew him aside in a forest, now called Harewood, and smote him through with a dart. Some censure this act as cruel and tyrannical: but, considered well, it may be judged more favourably, and that there was no man of sensible spirit but, in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for, next to an attempt against his life, what worse treason could have been committed against him? It chanced that the earl's base son coming-by upon the fact, the king sternly asked him "how he liked this game;" he submissively answering, "that whatsoever pleased the king, must not displease him;" the king, returning to his wonted temper, took an affection to the youth, and ever after highly favoured him, making amends to the son for what he had done to the father. Elfrida forthwith he took to wife, who, to expiate her former husband's death, though therein she had no hand, covered the place of his bloodshed with a monastery of nuns to sing over him.

Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, "that he took a virgin, Wilfrida, by force out of the nunnery, where she was placed by her friends to avoid his pursuit, and kept her as his concubine." But lived not obstinately in the offence; for, being sharply reproved by Dunstan, he submitted to seven years penance, and for that time to postpone the important ceremony of his coronation: but why he had not had it performed before, is left unwritten.

Another story there goes of Edgar, fitter for a novel than a history; but as I find it in Malmsbury, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstained not from women, and coming on a day to Andover, ordered a duke's daughter there dwelling, reported rare of beauty, to be brought to him. The mother, not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her daughter should be so deflowered, at fit time of night sent, in her daughter's attire, one of her waiting-maids: a maid, it seems, not unhandsome nor unwitty; who supplied the place of her young lady. The night being passed, the maid was going to rise; but, daylight scarce yet appearing, was by the king asked why she made such haste; she answered, to do the work which her lady had set her; at which the king wondering, and with much ado staying her

her to unfold the riddle, (for he took her to be the duke's daughter,) she falling at his feet besought him, that, since, at the command of her lady, she came to his bed, and was enjoyed by him, he would be pleased, in recompence, to set her free from the hard service of her mistress. The king, a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the maid away with him, advanced her above her lady, loved her, and accompanied with her only, till he married Elfrida. These only are his faults upon record: and it is rather to be wondered how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the licence of a sceptre; and that his virtues were so many and mature, he dying before the age wherein wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness. However, with him died all the Saxon glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but their decline and ruin under a double conquest, and the causes foregoing; which, (not to blur, or taint, the praises of their former actions and liberty well-defended,) shall stand severally related, and will be more than long enough for another book.

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*A Remark on the foregoing Account of the Succession of the several Saxon Kings of England, from King Alfred to King Edgar.*

THERE seems to be some difficulty in the foregoing account given us by Milton, of the succession of the Saxon kings of England, from the great king Alfred to king Edgar, with respect to the number of generations between them, which is here represented to be only three generations; namely, one from Alfred to his son, king Edward, his immediate successor, who succeeded him in the year 900, and reigned 25 years, and died in the year 925; and a second generation from king Edward to his lawful son Edmund, who was but two years old at the death of his father king Edward, and did not succeed to the crown till the death of his half-brother, king Athelstan, who was the son of king Edward by a concubine, and who reigned sixteen years, so that Edmund, the son  
of



of Edward, and grandson of Alfred, was only eighteen years old when he succeeded his half-brother Athelstan to the Crown; and the third generation from Edmund; the son of Edward, and grandson of king Alfred, to Edgar, the second son of king Edmund, and consequently the great-grandson of king Alfred.

Now it seems probable, that king Edmund, the father of Edgar, was not the son, but the grandson, of king Edward, who was the son and successor of king Alfred; for the following reasons:—

King Alfred was born in the year A. D. 850, and he succeeded to the crown of England upon the death of his brother Ethelred, who was the last of his three elder brothers Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred,) which happened in the year, A. D. 870, when he was only twenty years of age; and he reigned thirty years, and died in the year A. D. 900. And these historians tell us that he married at the age of twenty years. And from hence it seems probable that his son and successor king Edward was born in the year A. D. 871, or 872, and consequently must have been about 28 years of age in the year A. D. 900, when his father died. He succeeded his father in the government of the kingdom, and reigned 25 years, and died in the year A. D. 925, when he was probably (28 together with 25, or) 53 years old. He was succeeded in the government by Athelstan, a bastard son, who was then thirty years old and who therefore must have been born in the year 895, or when his father Edward was 23 years old. Now, since Edward, the son of Alfred, had a bastard-son, Athelstan, when he was about 23 years old, and about 5 years before his father Alfred's death, it seems probable that he had also been married nearly about the same time, and had a lawful son nearly of the same age with his bastard son Athelstan, a year or two, perhaps, either older or younger, than Athelstan, and who would therefore have been about the same age as Athelstan at the time of king Edward's death, that is, about the age of 30 years, instead of being a child only two years old, as king Edmund must have been according to the foregoing account which makes him to have

been



THE  
HISTORY OF BRITAIN.  
THE SIXTH BOOK.

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EDWARD the YOUNGER.

**E**DWARD, the eldest son of Edgar by Egelfleda A. D. 975.  
his first wife, the daughter of duke Ordmer, was,  
according to right and his father's will, placed in the  
throne; Elfrida, his second wife, and her faction only  
repining, who laboured to have had her son Ethelred, a  
child of seven years, preferred before him; that she,  
under

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been only 18 years old at the death of Athelstan after a  
reign of sixteen years.

It seems probable therefore that king Edward had had  
a lawful son of nearly the same age as his bastard son  
Athelstan, and that this lawful son had been married  
when he was about the age of 20 or 21 years, that is,  
about the 15th year of king Edward's reign, or the year  
A.D. 915, and had from that marriage had a son named  
Edmund, born about the year A. D. 923, or two years  
before the death of his grandfather king Edward, and who  
would therefore have been (2 years and 16 years, or) 18  
years old at the death of king Athelstan, after a reign of  
16 years, as king Edmund is said to have been at that  
time. And then, if we suppose the said eldest lawful  
son of king Edward to have died before king Edward  
himself, the several events related in this history of the  
succession of the kings of England from king Alfred to  
king Edgar will become intelligible and consistent with  
each other, and king Edgar must be considered as the  
fourth, instead of the third, descendant from king  
Alfred.

F. M.

under that pretence, might have ruled all. Meanwhile comets were seen in Heaven, portending not famine only, which followed the next year, but the troubled state of the whole realm not long after to ensue. The troubles, begun in Edwin's days, between monks and secular priests, were now revived and drew, on either side, many of the nobles into parties. For Elfre, duke of the Mercians, with many other peers, corrupted, as is said, with gifts\*, drove the monks out of those monasteries where Edgar had placed them, and in their stead put secular priests with their wives. But Ethelwin, duke of the East-Angles, with his brother Elfwold, and Earl Britnorth, opposed them, and, gathering an army, defended the abbeys of the East-Angles from such intruders. To appease these tumults, a synod was called at Winchester; and, nothing being there concluded, a general council both of nobles and prelates was held at Caln in Wiltshire, where, while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against Dunstan, the roof of the room wherein they sat fell upon their heads, killing some, and maiming others, Dunstan only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the king being absent by reason of his tender age. This accident quieted the controversy, and brought both parties to hold with Dunstan and the monks. Meanwhile the king, addicted to a religious life, and of a mild spirit, simply permitted all things, to the ambitious will of his stepmother and her son Ethelred: to whom she, displeased that the name only of king was wanting, practised thenceforth to remove king Edward out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. Edward on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty, and alone, while his attendants followed the dogs, hearing that Ethelred and his mother lodged at Corvesgate, (Corfe castle, saith Camden, in the Isle of Purbeck) innocently went thither. She, with all show of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his horse; and while he was drinking, caused one of her servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a poniard. The poor youth,

Disputes between  
the monks and the  
secular priests.

\* Florent, Sim. Dun.

who

who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the stirrup, he was dragged along the way, traced by his blood, and buried without honour at Werham, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for miracles. After which by duke Elfre, (who, as Malmsbury saith \*, had a hand in his death) he was royally interred at Skepton or Shaftsbury. The murderess Elfrida, at length repenting, spent the residue of her days in sorrow and great penance.

Death of king Edward, A. D. 988.

### ETHELRED.

ETHELRED, second son of Edgar by Elfrida (for Edmund his elder brother, died a child) his brother Edward having been wickedly removed, was now next in right to succeed †, and accordingly was crowned at Kingston: reported by some, to have been fair of visage, comely of person, and elegant of behaviour‡; but the event will show, that with many sluggish and ignoble vices he quickly shamed his outside; born and prolonged through many years of life, to be a fatal mischief to his people, and the ruin of his country; whereof he gave early signs from his first infancy, bewraying the font and water while the bishop was baptizing him. Whereat Dunstan much troubled, (for he stood by and saw it,) to them next him broke into these words, "By God and God's mother, this boy will prove a sluggard." Another thing is written of him in his childhood; which argued no bad nature, that, hearing of his brother Edward's cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious mother, offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him so with great wax-candles, that he hated the sight of them ever after. Dunstan, though unwilling, set the crown upon his

\* Post Christ. 978. Malms.

† Post Christ. 979. Malms.

‡ Florent. Sim. Dun.

The Danes renew  
their invasions of  
England, A. D. 982.

head; but at the same time foretold openly, as is reported, the great evils that were to come upon him and the land, in avengement of his brother's innocent blood\*. And about the same time, one midnight, a cloud sometimes bloody, sometimes fiery, was seen over all England; and within three years† the Danish tempest, which had long surceased, revolved again upon this island. To the more ample relating whereof, the Danish history, at least their latest and diligentest historian, as neither from the first landing of Danes, in the reign of West-Saxon Brithric, so now again from first to last, contributes nothing; busied more than enough to make-out the bare names and successions of their uncertain kings, and their small actions at home: unless out of him I should transcribe what he takes, and I better may, from our own annals; the surer and the sadder witnesses of their doings here, not glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly barbarous.

‡ For the Danes, well understanding, that England had now a slothful king to their wish, first landing at Southampton from seven great ships, took the town, spoiled the country, and carried-away with them great pillage; nor was Devonshire and Cornwall uninfested on the shore§; pirates of Norway also harried the coast of West-chester: || and, to add a worse calamity, the city of London was burnt; whether casually or not, is not written.

¶ It chanced four years after, that Ethelred besieged Rochester; some way or other offended by the bishop thereof. Dunstan, not approving the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not St. Andrew, the patron of that city, nor waste his lands; an old craft of the clergy to secure their church-lands, by entailing them on some Saint: the king not hearkening, Dunstan, on this condition "that the siege might be raised," sent him a hundred pounds; the money was accepted, and the siege dissolved. Dunstan, reprehending his avarice, sent him

\* Sim. Dun. † Post Christ. 982. Malms. ‡ Eadmer. Florent.  
§ Hoved. || Sim. Dun. Hoved. ¶ Post Christ. 986. Malms. Ingulf.

again this word, "Because thou hast respected money more than religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my days; for so God hath spoken."

The next year was calamitous \*, bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murrain upon cattle.

† Dunstan the year following died, a strenuous bishop, zealous without dread of person, and, for aught appears, the best of many ages, if he busied not himself too much in secular affairs. He was chaplain at first to king Athelstan, and to Edmund who succeeded him, and much employed in court-affairs, till, envied by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by Edmund forbidden the court; but, by the earnest mediation, saith Ingulf, of Torketel the chancellor, received at length to favour, and made abbot of Glaston; and lastly, by Edgar and the general vote, archbishop of Canterbury.

The Death of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 988.

Not long after his death; the Danes arriving in Devonshire were met by Goda, lieutenant of that country, and Strenwold a valiant leader, who put-back the Danes, but with loss of their own lives.

The Danes invade England.

‡ The third year following, under the conduct of Justin and Guthmund, the son of Steytan, they landed and spoiled Ipswich, fought with Britnoth, duke of the East-Angles, about Maldon, where they slew him; the slaughter else had been equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the English not able to resist, by council of Siric, then archbishop of Canterbury, and two dukes Ethelwald and Alfric, it was thought best for the present to buy that with silver, which they could not gain with their iron; and ten thousand pounds was paid to the Danes for peace. Which for a while contented them; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more.

The king buys a peace of them for the sum of 10,000 pounds, A. D. 991.

§ The next year but one, they took by storm and rifled Bebbanburg, an ancient city near Durham: sailing thence to the mouth of the Humber, they wasted both

\* Post Christ. 987. Malms.

† Post Christ. 988. Malms.

‡ Post Christ. 991, Sim. Dup.

§ Post Christ. 995. Sim. Dun.



sides thereof, Yorkshire and Lindsey, burning and destroying all before them. Against these went-out three noblemen, Frana, Frithegist, and Godwin; but being all Danes by the father's side, willingly began flight, and forsook their own forces betrayed to the enemy. \* No less treachery was at sea; for Alfric, the son of Elfer, duke of Mercia, whom the king for some offence had banished, but now recalled, sent from London with a fleet to surprise the Danes, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over-night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his fleet, saith Florent, perceiving, pursued, took the ship, but missed of his person: the Londoners by chance grappling with the East Angles made them fewer, saith my author, by many thousands. Others say †, that by this notice of Alfric the Danes not only escaped, but with a greater fleet set-upon the English, took many of their ships, and in triumph brought them up the Thames, intending to besiege London: for Anlaf, king of Norway, and Swane of Denmark, at the head of these, came with ninety four galleys. The king, for this treason of Alfric, put-out his son's eyes; but the Londoners both by land and water, so valiantly resisted their besiegers, that they were forced in one day, with great loss to give-over. But what they could not do on the city, they wrecked themselves on the countries round-about, wasting with sword and fire all Essex, Kent and Sussex. Thence horsing their foot, diffused far wider their outrageous incursions, without mercy either to sex or age. The slothful king, instead of war-like opposition in the field, sends ambassadors to treat about another payment ‡; the sum promised was now sixteen thousand pounds; till which paid, the Danes wintered at Southampton; Ethelred inviting Anlaf to come and visit him at Andover §, where he was royally entertained, some say baptized, or confirmed, adopted son by the king, and dismissed with great presents, promising by oath to depart and molest the kingdom no more ||; which

Anlaf, king of Norway, and Swane, king of Denmark, invade England, A. D. 994.

King Ethelred buys peace of them again with the sum of 16,000 pounds.

\* Florent. Huntingd.

† Malm.

‡ Post Christ. 994. Sim. Dun,

§ Ibid.

|| Huntingd.

he performed. But the calamity ended not so ; for, after some intermission of their rage for three years \*, the other navy of Danes sailing about to the west, entered the Severn, and wasted one while South Wales, then Cornwall and Devonshire, till at length they wintered about Tavistock. For it were an endless work to relate how they wallowed up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devastations they wrought, what desolations left behind them, easy to be imagined. † In sum, the next year they afflicted Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight ; by the English many resolutions were taken ; many armies raised, but either betrayed by the falsehood, or discouraged by the weakness, of their leaders, they were put to the rout or disbanded themselves. For soldiers most commonly are as their commanders, without much odds of valour in one nation or another ; only as they are more or less wisely disciplined and conducted :

‡ The following year brought them back upon Kent, where they entered the Medway, and besieged Rochester ; but the Kentish men assembling gave them a sharp encounter ; yet that sufficed not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Against these depopulations the king levied an army ; but the unskilful leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive-out time, burdening and impoverishing the people, consuming the public treasure, and more emboldening the enemy, than if they had sat quiet at home.

What cause moved the Danes next § year to pass into Normandy, is not recorded ; but that they returned thence more outrageous than before. Meanwhile the king, to make some diversion, undertakes an expedition both by land and sea into Cumberland, where the Danes were most planted ; there ; and in the Isle of Man ; or as Camden saith, Anglesey, imitating his enemies in spoiling and unpeopling. The Danes from Normandy, arriving in the river Ex ; laid siege to Exeter || ; but the citizens, as those of London, va-

\* Post Christ. 997. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 998. Sim. Dun.

‡ Post Christ. 999. Sim. Dun.

§ Post Christ. 1000. Sim. Dun.

|| Post Christ. 1001. Sim. Dup.

lorously defending themselves, they wreaked their anger, as before, on the villages round about. The country people of Somerset and Devonshire assembling themselves at Penho, showed their readiness, but wanted a head; and besides, being then but few in number, were easily put to flight; the enemy plundering all at will, with loaded spoils passed into the Isle of Wight; from whence all Dorsetshire and Hampshire felt again their fury. The Saxon annals write, that before their coming to Exeter, the Hampshire men had a bickering with them\*, wherein Ethelward, the king's general, was slain, adding other things hardly to be understood, and in one ancient copy; so end.

Ethelred, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely, and propose a third tribute to the Danes: they willingly hearken; but the sum is enhanced now to twenty-four thousand pounds, and paid; the Danes thereupon abstaining from hostility.

But the king, to strengthen his house by some potent affinity, marries Emma†, whom the Saxons called Elgiva, daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy. With him Ethelred formerly had war, or no good correspondence; as appears by a letter of pope John the fifteenth‡, who made peace between them about eleven years before. Puffed-up now with his supposed access of strength by this affinity, he caused the Danes all over England, though now living peaceably§, in one day perfidiously to be massacred, both men, women, and children; sending private letters to every town and city, whereby they might be ready all at the same hour; which till the appointed time (being the ninth of July) was concealed with great silence||, and performed with much unanimity; so generally hated were the Danes. Mat. West. writes, that this execution upon the Danes was ten years after; that Huna, one of

The king buys a peace with the Danes for 24,000 pounds.

Ethelred marries Emma, daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, A. D. 1002.

He orders a sudden and general massacre to be made of the Danes settled in England, A. D. 1002.

\* Post Christ. 1002. Sim. Dun.  
§ Florent. Huntingd.

† Malms.  
|| Calvis.

‡ Calvis.

Ethelred's

Ethelred's chief captains, complaining of the Danish insolences in the time of peace, their pride, their ravishing of matrons and virgins, incited the king to this massacre, which, in the madness of rage, made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among these, Gunhildis, the sister of Swane, was not spared, though much deserving not pity only, but all protection: she, with her husband, earl Palingus, coming to live in England, and receiving christianity had her husband and young son slain before her face, herself then beheaded, foretelling and denouncing that her blood would cost England dear. \* Some say this was done by the traitor Edric, to whose custody she was committed; but the massacre was some years before Edric's advancement; and if it were done by him afterwards, it seems to contradict the private correspondence which he was thought to hold with the Danes. For Swane, breathing revenge, hasted the next year into England †, and, by the treason, or negligence, of count Hugh, whom Emma had recommended to the government of Devonshire, sacked the city of Exeter, her wall from east to west-gate broken-down: after this, wasting Wiltshire, the people of that county, and of Hampshire, came-together in great numbers with resolution stoutly to oppose him; but Alfric their general, whose son's eyes the king had lately put-out, madly thinking to revenge himself on the king, by ruining his own country, when he should have ordered his battle, the enemy being at hand, feigned himself taken with a vomiting; whereby his army in great discontent, destitute of a commander, turned from the enemy: who straight took Wilton and Salisbury, carrying the pillage thereof to the ships. ‡ Thence the next year landing on the coast of Norfolk, he wasted the country, and set Norwich on fire; Ulfketel, duke of the East-Angles, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his forces, after consultation had, thought it best to make peace with the Dane; which he breaking, within three weeks, issued silently out of

The murder of Gunhildis, the sister of Swane.

Swane, king of Denmark, again invades England, and ravages many parts of it, A. D. 1003.

\* Mat. West.

† Post Christ. 1003. Sim. Dun.

‡ Post Christ. 1004. Sim. Dun.



his ships, came to Thetford, staid there a night, and in the morning left it flaming. Ulfketel, hearing this, commanded some to go and break or burn his ships; but they not daring or neglecting, he in the meanwhile with what secrecy and speed was possible, drawing together his forces, went out against the enemy, and gave them a fierce onset retreating to their ships: but much inferiour in number, many of the chief East-Angles there lost their lives. Nor did the Danes come off without great slaughter of their own; confessing that they never met in England with so rough a charge.

The next year\*, whom war could not, a great famine drove Swane out of the land. But the summer following†, another great fleet of Danes entered the port of Sandwich, thence poured out over all Kent and Sussex, made prey of what they found. The king levying an army out of Mercia, and the West-Saxons, took on him for once the manhood to go out and face them; but they, who held it safer to live by rapine, than to hazard a battle, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy camp, following their wonted course of robbery, then running to their ships. Thus all autumn they wearied out the king's army, which gone home to winter, they carried all their pillage to the Isle of Wight, and there staid till Christmas: at which time the king being in Shropshire, and but ill employed (for by the procurement of Edric, he caused, as is thought, Alfhelm, a noble duke, treacherously to be slain‡, and the eyes of his two sons to be put out) they came forth again, overrunning Hampshire and Berkshire as far as Reading and Wallingford: thence to Ashdune, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many people in arms by the river Kenet; but making their way through, they got safe with vast booty to their ships. § The king and his courtiers wearied out with their last summer's jaunt after the nimble Danes to no purpose, (which by proof

\* Post Christ. 1006: Sim: Dun: † Post Christ: 1006: Sim. Dun.

‡ Florent. § Post Christ: 1007: Sim: Dun.

they



they found too toilsome for their soft bones, more used to beds and couches,) had recourse to their last and only remedy, their coffers; and send now the fourth time to buy a dishonourable peace, every time still dearer, not to be had now under thirty-six thousand pounds (for the Danes knew how to milk such easy king) in name of tribute and expenses: which, out of the people over all England, already half beggared, was extorted and paid. About the same time Ethelred advanced Edric, surnamed Streon, from an obscure condition to be duke of Mercia, and marry Edgitha the king's daughter. The cause of his advancement, Florent of Worcester, and Mat. West. attribute to his great wealth, gotten by fine policies and a plausible tongue; he proved a main accessory to the ruin of England, as his actions will soon declare.

Ethelred, the next year\*, somewhat rousing himself, ordained that every three hundred and ten hides (a hide is so much land as one plough can sufficiently till) should set out a ship or galley, and every nine hides find a corslet and head-piece: new ships in every port were built, victualled, fraught with stout mariners and soldiers, and appointed to meet all at Sandwiche. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung-up, dissention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. Birthric, the brother of Edric, falsely accused Wulnoth, a great officer set over the South-Saxons, who, fearing the potency of his enemies, with twenty ships got to sea, and practised piracy on the coast, Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpris'd, Birthric sets forth with eighty ships; all which, driven-back by a tempest and wrecked upon the shore, were burnt soon after by Wulnoth. Disheartened with this misfortune, the king returns to London, the rest of his navy after him; and all this great preparation comes to nothing. Whereupon Turkill, a Danish earl, came with a navy to the Isle of Tanet, and in August a far greater, led by Heming and Ilaf,

The king buys a peace of the Danes for the fourth time, for the sum of 36,000 pounds, A. D. 1007.

The king makes Edric Streon, an obscure person, duke of Mercia, A. D. 1007.

\* Post Christ, 1008. Sim. Dun. † Post Christ, 1009. Sim. Dun.

joined

The Danes again invade England, under the command of Turkill, A. D. 1009.

joined with him. Thence coasting to Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault Canterbury; but the citizens and East-Kentish men, coming to composition with them for three thousand pounds, they departed thence to the Isle of Wight, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the king levies an army through all the land, and in several quarters places them nigh the sea, but so unskilfully or unsuccessfully, that the Danes were not thereby hindered from exercising their wonted robberies. It happened that the Danes were one day gone-up into the country far from their ships; the king having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in their return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantageous; but where courage and fortune were not wanting, there wanted loyalty among them. Edric, with subtle arguments, that had a show of deep policy, disputed and persuaded the simplicity of his fellow-counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the Danes pass without ambush or interception. The Danes, where they expected danger finding none, passed-on with great joy and booty to their ships. After this, sailing about Kent, they lay that winter in the Thames, forcing Kent and Essex to contribution, oft-times attempting the city of London, but repulsed as oft to their great loss.

Spring begun, leaving their ships, they passed through Chiltern wood into Oxfordshire\*, burnt the city, and thence returning with divided forces, wasted on both sides the Thames; but hearing that an army from London was marched-out against them, they on the north side passing the river at Stanes, joined with them on the south side into one body, and enriched with great spoils, came-back through Surrey to their ships; which all the Lent-time they repaired. After Easter, sailing to the East-Angles, they arrived at Ipswich, and came to a place called Ringmere, where they heard that Ulfketel

\* Post Christ. 1010, Sim. Dun. Florent.

with his forces lay, who with a sharp encounter soon entertained them; but his men at length giving back, through the subtlety of a Danish servant among them who began the flight, lost the field; though the men of Cambridgeshire stood to it valiantly. In this battle Ethelstan, the king's son-in-law, with many other noblemen, were slain; whereby the Danes, without more resistance, three months together had the spoiling of those countries and all the fens, burnt Thetford and Grantbrigg, or Cambridge; thence to a hilly place not far off, called by Huntingdon, Balesham, by Camden, Gogmagog hills, and the villages thereabout they turned their fury, slaying all they met save one man, who, getting up into a steeple, is said to have defended himself against the whole Danish army. They therefore so leaving him, their foot by sea, their horse by land through Essex, returned back laden to their ships left in the Thames. But many days passed not between, when sallying again out of their ships as out of savage dens, they plundered over again all Oxfordshire, and added to their prey Buckingham, Bedford, and Hertfordshire\*; then, like wild beasts glutted, returning to their caves. A third excursion they made into Northamptonshire, burnt Northampton, ransacking the country round; then, as a fresh pasture, betook them to the West-Saxons, and in like sort harrassing all Wiltshire, returned, as I said before, like wild beasts, or rather sea-monsters, to their water-stables, accomplishing by Christmas the circuit of their whole year's good deeds; an unjust and inhuman nation, who, receiving, or not receiving, tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their livelihood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceased not; for the next year † repeating the same cruelties on both sides the Thames, one way as far as Huntingdon, the other as far as Wiltshire and Southampton, solicited again by the king for peace, and receiving their demands both of tribute and contribution, they slighted their faith; and in the beginning of September laid siege

\* Huntingd.

† Post Christ, 1011. Sim, Dun.

The Danes take Can-  
terbury, A.D. 1011.

to Canterbury. On the twentieth day, by the treachery of Almere the archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacre as a sport; some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members; infants pulled from their mother's breasts, were either tossed on spears, or carts drawn over them; matrons and virgins by the hair dragged and ravished. \*Alfage, the grave archbishop above others hated of the Danes, as in all counsels and actions to his might their own opposer, taken, wounded, imprisoned in a noisome ship; the multitude are fished, and every tenth only spared.

The king pays a fifth  
tribute to the Danes,  
of 48,000 pounds.

† Early the next year before Easter, while Ethelred and his peers were assembled at London, to raise now the fifth tribute amounting to forty-eight thousand pound; the Danes at Canterbury propose to the archbishop †, who had been now several months their prisoner, life and liberty, if he paid them three thousand pound; which he refusing, as not able of himself, and not willing to extort it from his tenants, is permitted till the next Sunday to consider; then hauled before the council, of whom Turkill was chief, and still refusing, they rise, most of them being drunk, and beat him with the blunt side of their axes, then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with stones; till one Thrun, a converted Dane, pitying him half dead, to put him out of pain, with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his axe on the head dispatched him. His body was carried to London, and there buried, thence afterwards removed to Canterbury. By this time the tribute paid, and peace so often violated sworn again by the Danes, they dispersed their fleet; forty-five of them; and Turkill their chief, staid at London with the king, swore him allegiance to defend his land against all strangers, on condition only to be fed and clothed by him. But this voluntary friendship of Turkill was thought to be deceitful; that staying under this pretence he gave intelligence to Swane, when most it would be seasonable to come.

They murder Al-  
sage, the archbishop.

\* Eadmer, Malms.

† Post Christ, 1012. Sim, Dan.

‡ Eadmer.



\* In July therefore of the next year, king Swane arriving at Sandwich, made no stay there, but sailing first to the Humber, thence into Trent, landed and encamped at Gainsburrow : whither without delay repaired to him the Northumbrians, with Uthred, their earl ; those of Lindsey also, then those of Fisburg, and lastly all on the north of Watling-street (which is a highway from east to west-sea) gave oath and hostages to obey him. From whom he commanded horses and provision for his army, taking with him besides bands and companies of their choicest men ; and committing to his son Canute the care of his fleet and hostages, he marches towards the South-Mercians, commanding his soldiers to exercise all acts of hostility ; with the terror whereof fully executed, he took in few days the city of Oxford, then Winchester ; thence tending to London, in his hasty passage over the Thames, without seeking bridge or ford, lost many of his men. Nor was his expedition against London prosperous ; for assaying all means by force or wile to take the city, wherein the king then was, and Turkill with his Danes, he was stoutly beaten off as at other times. Thence back to Wallingford and Bath, directing his course, after usual havock made, he sat awhile and refreshed his army. There Ethelm, an earl of Devonshire, and other great officers in the West, yielded him subjection. These things flowing to his wish, he betook him to his navy, from that time stiled and accounted king of England ; if a tyrant, saith Simeon, may be called a king. The Londoners also sent him hostages, and made their peace ; for they feared his fury. Ethelred thus reduced to narrow compass, sent Emma, his queen, with his two sons had by her, and all his treasure to Richard II. her brother, duke of Normandy ; himself with his Danish fleet abode some while at Greenwich, then sailing to the Isle of Wight, passed after Christmas into Normandy ; where he was honourably received at Rouen by the duke, though known to have borne himself churlishly and proudly to Emma his sister, besides his dissolute company with other women. Meanwhile Swane † ceased not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the people, spoiling them when

The Danes, under the command of their king Swane, invade England again, A. D. 1013.

Many parts of England are conquered by them, and their king Swane takes the title of king of England.

Ethelred, and his queen Emma, and her two sons, fly for refuge into Normandy.

\* Post Christ, 1012, Sim, Dun,

† Malm,

he



The death of Swane,  
A.D. 1014.

Ethelred is invited  
by the English to re-  
turn to England and  
resume the Govern-  
ment.

Canute, the son of  
Swane, returns to  
Denmark to recruit  
his army.

he listed ; besides, the like did Turkill at Greenwich. The next year beginning \*, Swane sickens and dies ; some say terrified and smitten by an appearing shape of St. Edmund armed, whose church at Bury he had threatened to demolish ; but the authority hereof relies only upon the legend of St. Edmund. After his death the Danish army and fleet made his son Canute their king ; but the nobility and states of England sent messengers to Ethelred, declaring that they preferred none before their native sovereign, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more clemency. Whereat the king rejoicing, sends over his son Edward with ambassadors to Court both high and low, and win their love, promising largely to be their mild and devoted lord, to consent in all things to their will, follow their counsel, and whatever had been done, or spoken, by any man against him, freely to pardon, if they would loyally restore him to be their king. To this the people cheerfully answered, and amity was both promised and confirmed on both sides. An embassy of lords is sent to bring-back the king honourably ; he returns in Lent, and is joyfully received of the people, and marches with a strong army against Canute ; who having got horses, and joined with the men of Lindsey, was preparing to make spoil in the countries adjoining ; but by Ethelred unexpectedly coming upon him, was soon driven to his ships, and his confederates of Lindsey were left to the anger of their country-men, by whom they were executed without mercy both by fire and sword. Canute in all haste sailing-back to Sandwich, took the hostages given to his father from all parts of England, and with slit noses, ears cropped, and hands chopped-off, setting them ashore, departed into Denmark. Yet the people were not disburdened ; for the king raised out of them thirty thousand pounds to pay his fleet of Danes at Greenwich. In addition to these evils, the Sea in October passed its bounds, overwhelming many towns in England, and of their inhabitants many thousands. † The year following, an assembly being at Oxford, Edric Streon having invited two noblemen, Sigeferth and Mor-

\* Post Christ. 1014. Sim. Dun. Mat. West,

† Post Christ. 1015. Sim. Dun.

ear, the sons of Earngrun of Seavenburgh, to his lodging; secretly murdered them; the king, for what cause is unknown, seized their estates, and caused Algiht, the wife of Sigeferth, to be kept at Maidulfsburg, now Malmsbury, whom Edmund, the prince, there married against his father's mind, and then went and possessed their lands, making the people there subject to him. Mat. Westm. saith, that these two were of the Danes who had seated themselves in Northumberland, and were slain by Edric under colour of treason laid to their charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of their masters \*, were beaten-back; and driven into a church, and, there defending themselves, were burnt in the steeple. Mean-while Canute returning from Denmark with a great navy †, two hundred ships richly gilded and adorned, well fraught with arms and all provision; and, (which the Encomium Emmæ mentions not,) two other kings, Lachman of Sweden, Olav of Norway, arrived at Sandwich; and, as the same author then living writes, sent out spies to discover; what resistance on land was to be expected; who returned with certain report, that a great army of English was in readiness to oppose them. Turkill, who, upon the arrival of these Danish powers, kept faith no longer with the English, but joining now with Canute ‡, as it were now to re-ingratiate himself after his revolt, whether real or com-  
plotted, counselled him (being yet young) not to land, but to leave to him the management; of this first battle: the king assented, and he with the forces which he had brought, and part of those which arrived with Canute, landing to their wish, encountered the English, though double in number, at a place called Scorastan, and was at first beaten-back with much loss. But at length, animating his men with rage only and despair, obtained a clear victory, which won him great reward and possessions from Canute. But of this Action no other writer makes mention. From Sandwich therefore sailing about to the river Frome, and there landing, over all Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire he spread wasteful hostility §. The king lay then sick at Cosham in this county; though it may seem

Canute returns to England with a great navy and fresh troops.

\* Malins.

† Leges Edw. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norm.

‡ Encom. Em.

§ Camd.

Edric Streon, with the ships under his command, revolts to Canute.

strange how he could lie sick there in the midst of his enemies: Howbeit Edmund in one part, and Edric of Streon in another, raised forces by themselves; but soon as both armies were united, the traitor Edric being found to practise against the life of Edmund, he removed with his army from him: whereof the enemy took great advantage. Edric, easily enticing the forty ships of Danes to side with him, revolted to Canute: the West-Saxons also gave pledges, and furnished him with horses. By which means the year ensuing, he, with Edric the traitor, passing the Thames at Creclad, about twelfth tide, entered into Mercia, and especially Warwickshire, depopulating all places in their way. Against these prince Edmund, (who, for his hardiness, was called *Ironsides*) gathered an army; but the Mercians refused to fight unless Ethelred with the Londoners came to aid them; and so every man returned home. After the festival, Edmund, gathering another army, besought his father to come with the Londoners, and what force besides he was able; they came with great strength gotten-together; but, being come, and in a hopeful way of good success, it was told the king, that, unless he took the better heed, some of his own forces would fall-off and betray him. The king, daunted with this, perhaps, cunning whisper of the enemy, disbanding his army, returns to London. Edmund betook him into Northumberland, as some thought, to raise fresh forces; but he, with an earl Uthred, on the one side, and Canute with Edric on the other, did little else but lay waste the provinces; Canute with a view to conquer them, Edmund to punish those who stood neuter; for which cause Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Leicestershire, felt heavily his hand; while Canute, who was ruining the more southern shires, at length marched into Northumberland: which Edmund hearing, dismissed his forces, and came to London. Uthred, the earl, hasted back to Northumberland, and, finding no other remedy, submitted himself, with all the Northumbrians, giving hostages to Canute. Nevertheless by his command or connivance, and the hand of one Turebrand a Danish Lord, Uthred was slain, and Iric, another Dane, was made earl in his stead. This Uthred, son

Death of Uthred, earl of Northumberland.

\* Post Christ, 1016. Sim. Dun.

of

of Walteof, (as Simeon writes, in his treatise of the siege of Durham,) in his youth obtained a great victory against Malcolm, son of Kened king of Scots, who, with the whole power of his kingdom was fallen into Northumberland, and laid siege to Durham. Walteof, the old earl, unable to resist, had secured himself in Bebbanburg, a strong town; but Uthred gathering an army raised the siege, slew most of the Scots, their king narrowly escaping, and with the heads of their slain fixed upon poles beset round the walls of Durham. The year of this exploit Simeon clears not, for in 969, and in the reign of Ethelred, as he affirms, it could not be. Canute by another way returning southward, joyful of his success, before Easter came back with all the army to his fleet. About the end of April ensuing, Ethelred, after a long, troublesome, and ill-governed reign, ended his days at London, and was buried in the church of St. Paul.

Death of king Ethelred, A. D. 1016.

### EDMUND IRONSIDE.

AFTER the decease of Ethelred, they of the nobility who were then at London, together with the citizens, chose\* Edmund, his son (not by Emma, but a former wife the daughter of earl Thored) in his father's room; but the archbishops, abbots, and many of the nobles assembling together, elected Canute; and, coming to Southampton where he then remained, renounced before him all the race of Ethelred, and swore to him fidelity: he also swore to them, in matters both religious and secular, to be their faithful lord. † But Edmund, with all speed going to the West-Saxons, was joyfully received of them as their king, and of many other provinces by their example. Mean-while Canute about mid-May came with his whole fleet up the river to London; then causing a great dike to be made on Surrey side, turned the stream, and drew his ships thither west of the bridge; then begirting the city with a broad and deep trench, assailed it on every side; but repulsed as before by the valorous

\* Florent. Aclred in the life of Edw. Conf.

† Florent, Sim. Dun.



defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his army for the defence of his ships, with the rest sped him to to the West-Saxons, ere Edmund could have time to assemble all his powers; who yet with such as were at hand, invoking divine aid, encountered the Danes at Pen by Gillingham in Dorsetshire, and put him to flight. After midsummer, increased with new forces, he met with him again at a place called Sherasten, now Sharstan; but Edric, Almar, and Algar, with the Hampshire and Wiltshire men, then siding with the Danes, he only maintained the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Daylight returning renewed the conflict, wherein the Danes appearing inferiour, Edric, to dishearten the English, cuts off the head of one Osmer, in countenance and hair somewhat resembling the king, and holding it up, cries aloud to the English, that Edmund being slain, and this his head, it was time for them to fly; which fallacy Edmund perceiving, and openly showing himself to his soldiers; by a spear thrown at Edric, that missing him yet slew one next him\*, and through him another behind, they recovered heart, and lay sore upon the Danes till night parted them as before: for ere the third morn, Canute, sensible of his loss, marched-away by stealth to his ships at London, renewing there his leaguer. Some would have this battle at Sherastan the same with that at Scorastan before mentioned: but the circumstance of time permits not; that having been before the landing of Canute; this a good while after, as by the process of things appears. From Sherastan, or Sharstan, Edmund returned to the West-Saxons, whose valour Edric fearing, lest it might prevail against the Danes, sought pardon of his revolt, and, obtaining it, swore loyalty to the king, who now, the third time, coming with an army from the West-Saxons to London; raised the siege, chasing Canute and his Danes to their ships. Then, after two days, passing the Thames at Brentford, and so coming on their backs, kept them so turned, and obtained the victory; then returns again

\* Malm.



to his West-Saxons; and Canute to his siege; but still in vain; rising therefore thence, he entered with his ships a river then called A enne; and from the banks thereof wasted Mercia; thence their horse by land, their foot by ship came to Medway. Edmund in the mean-while with multiplied forces out of many shires crossing again at Bre tford, came into Kent, seeking Canute; encountered him at Otford and so defeated, that of his horse they who escaped fled to the Isle of Sheppey; and a full victory he had gained, had not Edric, still the traitor, by some wile or other, detained his pursuit: and Edmund, who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be so misled, ever after forsaken of his wonted fortune. Canute crossing with his army into Essex, thence wasted Mercia worse than before, and with heavy prey returned to his ships: then Edmund, with a collected army pursuing, overlook at a place called Assandune or As-eslull \*now Ashdown in Essex; the battle on either side was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious Edric perceiving the victory to incline towards Edmund; with that part of the army which was under him fled, as he had promised Canute, and left the king overmatched with numbers: by which desertion the English were overthrown, duke Alfric, duke Godwin, and Ulfketel, the valiant duke of East-Angles, with a great part of the nobility, slain, so as the English of a long time had not received a greater blow. Yet, after awhile, Edmund, not absurdly called Ironside, preparing again to try his fortune in another field, was hindered by Edric and others of his faction, advising him to make peace and divide the kingdom with Canute. To which Edmund over-ruled, a treaty appointed, and pledges mutually given, both kings met together at a place called Deor-hirst in Gloucestershire; † Edmund on the west side of the Severn, Canute on the east, with their armies, then both in person wasted into an island, at that time called Olanegest, now Alney, in the midst of the river; swearing amity and brotherhood, they parted the kingdom between them. Then interchanging arms and the habit they wore,

A great battle between the English and the Danes at Ashdown in Essex

\* Camd.

† Camd.

‡ Camd.

assessing also what pay should be allotted to the navy, they departed each his way. Concerning this interview and the cause thereof others write otherwise; Malmsbury, that Edmund grieving at the loss of so much blood spilt for the ambition only of two men striving who should reign, of his own accord sent to Canute, offering him single combat, to prevent in their own cause the effusion of more blood than their own; that Canute, though of courage enough, yet not unwisely doubting to adventure his body of small timber, against a man of iron sides, refused the combat, offering to divide the kingdom. This offer pleasing both armies, Edmund was not difficult to consent; and the decision was, that he as his hereditary kingdom, should rule the West-Saxons and all the South, Canute the Mercians and the North. Huntingdon followed by Mat. Westm. relates, that the peers on every side wearied-out with continual warfare, and refraining to affirm openly that they two who expected to reign singly, had most reason to fight singly; the kings were content; the island was their lists, the combat knightly; till Knute, finding himself too weak, began to parley, which ended as is said before. After which the Londoners bought their peace of the Danes, and permitted them to winter in the city. But king Edmund, about the feast of St. Andrew, unexpectedly deceased at London, and was buried near to Edgar his grandfather at Glaston. The cause of his so sudden death is uncertain; common fame, saith Malmsbury, lays the guilt thereof upon Eadric, who, to please Canute, allured with promise of reward two of the king's privy chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the stool, by thrusting a sharp iron into his hinder parts. Huntingdon, and Mat. Westm. relate it done at Oxford by the son of Eadric, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital: Edmund dead, Canute, meaning to reign sole king of England, calls to him all the dukes, barons, and bishops of the land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and Edmund dividing the kingdom, whether the sons and brothers of Edmund were to govern the West-Saxons after him, Canute living?

Edmund and Canute agree to divide the kingdom between them.

Death of king Edmund soon after.

*The History of England.*

ing? They who understood his meaning, and feared to undergo his anger, timorously answered, that Edmund, they knew, had left no part thereof to his sons or brethren, living or dying; but that he intended Canute should be their guardian, till they came to age of reigning. Simeon affirms, that, for fear, or hope of reward, they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which, he put many of them to death not long after.

**CANUTE, or KNUTE.**

CANUTE, having thus sounded the nobility\*, and, by them understood, received their oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and oath from the Danish nobles; whereupon the house of Edmund was renounced, and Canute crowned. They then enacted, that Edwi, brother of Edmund, a prince of great hope, should be banished the realm. But Canute, not thinking himself secure while Edwi lived, consulted with Edric how to make him away; who told him of one Ethelward a decayed nobleman, likeliest to do the work. Ethelward sent-for, and tempted by the king in private with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promised to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferred it. But Edwi, afterwards received into favour, as a snare; was, by him, or some other of his false friends, Canute contriving it, the same year slain. Edric also counselled him to dispatch Edward and Edmund, the sons of Ironside; but, the king, doubting that the fact would seem too foul done in England, sent them to the king of Sweden, with like intent; but he, disdaining the office, sent them for better safety to Solomon, king of Hungary; where Edmund at length died, but Edward married Agatha, daughter to Henry, the German Emperor. A digression in the laws of Edward the Confessor, under the title of *Lex Noricorum*, saith, that this Edward, for fear of Canute, fled, of his own accord, to Malesclôt, king of the Rugians, who received him honourably, and of that country gave him a wife. Canute, settled in his throne, divided the government of his

Canute is crown  
king of all Engla  
A. D. 1017.

\* Post-Christ. 1017. Sim. Dun. Sax. an.

He causes Edric Streon, duke of Mercia, who had murdered Edmund Ironside, to be put to death.

kingdom into four parts; the West-Saxons to himself, the East-Angles to earl Turkill, the Mercians to Edric, the Northumbrians to Iric; then made peace with all princes round about him, and, his former wife being dead, in July married Emma, the widow of king Ethelred. The Christmas following was an ill feast to Edric, of whose treason the king having now made use as much as served his turn, and, fearing himself to be the next betrayed, caused him to be slain at London in the palace, and then to be thrown over the city-wall, and there to lie unburied: the head of Edric fixed on a pole, he commanded to beset on the highest tower of London, thereby performing in a different sense than Edric had supposed it to bear, the promise he had made him as a reward for his great service by causing king Edmund to be murdered, "that he would exalt him above all the peers of England." Huntingdon, Malmsbury, and Mat. Westm. write, that, suspecting the king's intention to degrade him from his Mercian dukedom, and upbraiding him with his merits, the king enraged caused him to be strangled in the room, and out at a window thrown into the Thames. Another writes\*, that Eric, at the king's command, struck off his head. Other great men, though without fault as duke Norman, the son of Leofwin, Ethelwald, son of duke Agelmar, he put to death at the same time, jealous of their power or familiarity with Edric; and, notwithstanding peace, still kept up his army; to maintain which, the next year †, he squeezed out of the English, (though now his subjects, not his enemies,) seventy-two, some say, eighty-two, thousand pounds, besides fifteen thousand out of London. Mean-while great war arose at Carr, between Uthred, son of Walteof, earl of Northumberland, and Malcolm, son of Kened, king of Scots, with whom held Eugenius, king of Lothian. But here Simeon, the relater, seems to have committed some mistake, having slain Uthred by Canute two years before, and set Iric in his place: Iric therefore it must needs be, not Uthred, who managed this war against the Scots. About which time at a convention of Danes at

\* Encom. Em. Ingulf.

† Post Christ. 1018. Sim. Dun. Huntingd.  
Mat. West.



Oxford, it was agreed on both parties to keep the laws of Edgar; Mat. Westm. saith of Edward the elder. The next \* year Canute sailed into Denmark and there abode all winter. Huntingdon and Mat. Westm. say, he went thither to repress the Swedes; and that the night before a battle was fought with them, Godwin, stealing out of the camp with his English, assaulted the Swedes, and had got the victory ere Canute in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprise, though against discipline, he had the English in more esteem ever after. In the spring, at his return into England †, he held in the time of Easter a great assembly at Chichester, and the same year was with Turkill, the Dane, at the dedication of a church by them built at Assendune, in the place of that great victory which won him the crown. But suspecting his greatness, the year following banished him the realm, and found occasion to do the like by Iric, the Northumbrian earl, upon the same jealousy. ‡ Nor yet content with his conquest of England, though now above ten years enjoyed, he passed with fifty ships into Norway, dispossessed Olave their king, and subdued the land §, first with great sums of money sent the year before to gain him a party, then coming with an army to compel the rest. Thence returning king of England, Denmark, and Norway, yet not secure in his mind, || under colour of an embassy he sent into banishment Hacun, a powerful Dane, who had married the daughter of his sister Gunildis, having conceived some suspicion of his practices against him: but such course was taken, that he never came back; either perishing at sea, or slain by contrivance the next ¶ year in Orkney. Canute therefore having thus established himself by bloodshed and oppression, to wash away, as he thought, the guilt thereof, sailing \*\* again into Denmark, went thence to Rome, and offered there to St. Peter great gifts of gold and silver, and other precious things; besides the usual tribute of Romscot, giving great alms by the way ††,

Canute goes to Denmark, A. D. 1019.

And returns to England, and dedicates a church at Ashdown in Essex, A. D. 1029.

He afterwards invades and conquers Norway, A. D. 1025.

He goes to Rome, and offers great gifts of gold and silver to St. Peter's church, A. D. 1031.

\* Post Christ. 1019. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1021. Sim. Dun. Malms.

‡ Post Christ. 1029. Sim. Dun.

\*\* Post Christ. 1031. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1020. Sim. Dun.

§ Post Christ. 1028. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 1030. Sim. Dun.

†† Huntingd.

both



both thither and back again, freeing many places of custom and toll with great expense, where strangers were wont to pay, having vowed great amendment of life at the sepulchre of Peter and Paul, and to his whole people in a large letter written from Rome yet extant. At his return, therefore, he built and dedicated a church to St. Edmund at Bury, whom his ancestors had slain\*, threw out the secular priests, who had intruded there, and placed monks in their stead; then going into Scotland, † subdued and received homage of Malcolm, and two other kings there, Melbeath and Jermare. Three years ‡ after, having made Swane, his supposed son by Algiva of Northampton, duke Alfhelm's daughter (for others say the son of a priest, whom Algira, barren, § had got ready at the time of her feigned labour) king of Norway; and Hardecnute, his son by Emma, king of Denmark; and designed Harold, his son by Algiva of Northampton, king of England; died || at Shaftsbury, and was buried at Winchester, in the old monastery.

He dies at Shaftsbury, A D. 1035.

His character.

This king, as it appears, ended better than he began; for though he seems to have had no hand in the death of Ironside, but detested the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had openly related the manner of their killing him, delivered them to deserved punishment, yet he spared Edric, whom he knew to be the prime author of that detestable fact; till willing to be rid of him, who was grown importunate to him upon the confidence of his merits, and had upbraided him by boasting that he had first relinquished, and then extinguished, Edmund for his sake; angry to be so upbraided, "Therefore said he, with a changed countenance, "traitor to God and me, thou shalt die; thine own mouth accuses thee, to have slain thy master, my confederate brother, and the Lord's anointed." ¶ Whereupon, although present and private execution was, in rage, done upon Edric, yet he himself, in cool blood, scrupled not to make away the brother and children of Edmund, who had better right to be the Lord's anointed here than

\* Post Christ. 1032. Sim. Dun.  
1035. Sim. Dun.

§ Florent.

† Huntingd.  
|| Florent.

‡ Post Christ.  
¶ Malms.  
himself.

himself. When he had obtained in England what he desired, no wonder if he sought the love of his conquered subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his wealth and state for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married Emma, and that Richard duke of Normandy, her brother, might the less care what became of Alfred and Edward, her sons by king Ethelred. He commanded to be observed the ancient Saxon laws, which were called afterwards "the laws of Edward the Confessor," not that he had made them, but because he strictly observed them.

His letter from Rome professes, if he had done aught amiss in his youth, through negligence or want of due temper, a full resolution, with the help of God, to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his officers and viscounts, that neither for fear of him, or favour of any person, or to enrich the king, they suffer injustice to be done in the land; commands his treasurers to pay all his debts ere his return home, which he made by first passing through Denmark, in order to compose some matters there; and what his letter professed, he performed all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great-ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attained the utmost of their ambitions and desires; and then to think that God will be appeased by their seeking to bribe him with a share, however large, of their ill-gotten spoils; and then, lastly, to grow zealous to do right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit, Canute was famous through Europe, and much honoured by Conrade the Emperor, (who was then at Rome,) with rich gifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of passages from toll and custom.

Canute's declarations  
in his Letter from  
Rome.

N. B.

I must not omit one remarkable action done by him, as Huntingdon reports it, with great scene of circumstance, and emphatical expression, to show the small power of kings in respect of God; which, unless to court-parasites, needed no such laborious demonstration. He caused his royal seat to be set on the shore, while the tide was coming in; and with all the state that royalty could put into his countenance, said thus to the sea; "Thou, sea, belondest to me, and the  
the

the land whereon I sit, is mine; nor hath any one, unpunished, resisted my commands; I charge thee come no farther upon my land, neither presume to wet the feet of thy sovereign lord." But the sea, as before, came rolling-on, and, without reverence, both wetted and dashed him. Whereat the king quickly rising "wished all about "him to behold and consider the weak and frivolous "power of a king, and that none indeed deserved the "name of a king, but he whose eternal laws both Heaven, "earth, and sea obey." A truth so evident of itself, as I said before, that, unless to shame his court-flatterers, who would not else be convinced, Canute needed not to have gone wet-shod home. The historian further informs us, that, after pronouncing these words to his courtiers, he never more would wear a crown, esteeming earthly royalty contemptible and vain.

### HAROLD.

Harold, Harefoot, is elected king of England in compliance with his father's designation by his testament, A.D. 1035.

HAROLD, for his swiftness surnamed Harefoot,\* the son of Canute by Algiva of Northampton, (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a shoemaker's wife, as Swane before of a priest; others of a maid-servant, to conceal her barrenness) in a great assembly at Oxford was by duke Leofric and the Mercians, with the Londoners, according to his father's testament, elected king †; but without the regal habiliments, which Ælnot, the archbishop, who had them in his custody, refused to deliver up to any persons but to the sons of Emma; for which Harold ever after hated the clergy; and (as the clergy are wont thence to infer) all religion. Godwin, earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons with him, stood for Hardecnute. Malmsbury saith, that the contest was between the Danes and the English; that the Danes and Londoners, (grown now in a manner Danish,) were all for Hardecnute: but, he being then in Denmark, Harold prevailed, yet so as that the kingdom should be divided between them; the west and south part reserved by Emma for Hardecnute, till his return. But Harold, once ad-

\* Florent. Brompton, Huntingd. Mat. West. . . . † Encom. Em.  
vanced

vanced into the throne, banished Emma, his mother-in-law, seized on his father's treasure at Winchester, and there remained. \* Emma, not holding it safe to abide in Normandy while duke William, the bastard, was yet under age, retired to Baldwin, earl of Flanders. In the mean while Elfred and Edward, sons of Ethelred, accompanied with a small number of Norman soldiers in a few ships, coming to visit their mother Emma not yet departed the land, and perhaps to see how far the people were inclined to restore them to their right, Elfrid was sent for by the king then at London; but in his way was met at Guildford by earl Godwin, who with all seeming friendship entertained him, but yet treacherously caused him in the night to be surprised and made prisoner, and most of his company to be put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over; then brought to London, he was by the king sent bound to Ely, and had his eyes put-out by the way, and being delivered to the monks there, died soon after in their custody. Malmsbury gives little credit to this story of Elfred, as not chronicled in his time, but rumoured only. Which Emma, however, hearing, sent-away her son Edward, (who, by good hap, had not accompanied his brother,) with all speed into Normandy. But the author of "Encomium Emmæ," who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some monk, yet lived, and perhaps wrote, within the same year when these things were done; by his relation, differing from all others, much aggravates the cruelty of Harold, that he not content to have practised in secret (for openly he durst not) against the life of Emma, sought many treacherous ways to get her sons within his power; and resolved at length to forge a letter in the name of their mother, inviting them into England; the copy of which letter he produces written to this purpose, in these words;

Elfred, one of the sons of the late king Ethelred by queen Emma, is put to death by the order of king Harold, A. D. 1036.

"EMMA, in name only queen, to her sons Edward and Elfred, imparts motherly salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our lord the king, most dear sons! and while daily you are deprived more and more of the kingdom of your inheritance; I admire

\* Post Christ 1036. Sim. Dun.

what



what counsel ye take, knowing that your intermitted delay is a daily strengthening to the reign of your usurper, who incessantly goes about from town to city gaining the chief nobles to his party, either by gifts, prayers, or threats. But they had much rather that one of you should reign over them, than to be held under the power of him who now over-rules them. I entreat, therefore, that one of you come to me speedily and privately, to receive from me wholesome counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplished. By this messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own heart."

These letters were sent to the princes then in Normandy, by express messengers, with presents also as from their mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. Elfred therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few ships and small numbers about him, appearing on the coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of earl Godwin, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. Emma, greatly sorrowing for the loss of her son, thus cruelly made-away, fled immediately with some of the nobles, her faithfulest adherents, into Flanders, had her dwelling assigned at Bruges by the earl; where having remained about two years\*, she was visited out of Denmark by Hardecnute her son; and he not long had remained with her there, when Harold in England having done nothing the while worth memory, save the taxing of every port at eight marks of silver to sixteen ships, died at London, some say at Oxford, and was buried at Winchester.† After which, most of the nobility, both Danes and English, now agreeing, send ambassadors to Hardecnute still at Bruges with his mother, entreating him to come and receive as his right the sceptre; who before midsummer

Death of Harold,  
A. D. 1040.

\* Post Christ. 1039. Sim. Dun. Huntingd.  
Sim. Dun. Malms.

† Post Christ. 1040.

came



came with sixty ships, and many soldiers out of Denmark;

### HARDECNUTE.

HARDECNUTE received with acclamation, and seated in the throne, first called to mind the injuries done to him or his mother Emma, in the time of Harold; sent Alfric, archbishop of York, Godwin, and others, with Troude his executioner, to London, commanding them to dig up the body of king Harold, and throw it into a ditch; but by a second order, into the Thames. Whence taken up by a fisherman, and conveyed to a church-yard in London, belonging to the Danes, it was interred again with honour. This done, he levied a sore tax, that eight marks to every rower, and twelve to every officer in his fleet, should be paid, throughout England: by which time they who were so forward to call him over had enough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he called to account Godwin, earl of Kent, and Leving, bishop of Worcester, about the death of Elfred his half-brother, which Alfric, the archbishop, laid to their charge; the king deprived Leving of his bishopric, and gave it to his accuser: but the year following, pacified with a round sum, restored it to Leving. \*Godwin made his peace by a sumptuous present a galley with a gilded stern bravely rigged, and eighty soldiers in her, every one with bracelets of gold on each arm, weighing sixteen ounces, helmet, corslet, and hilts of his sword gilded; a Danish curtaxe, listed with gold or silver, hung on his left shoulder, a shield with boss and nails gilded in his left hand, in his right a lance; besides this, he took his oath before the king, that neither of his own counsel or will, but by the command of Harold he had done what he did, to the putting out of Elfred's eyes. The like oath took most of the nobility for themselves, or in his behalf. † The next year Hardecnute sending his house-carles, so they called his officers, to gather the tribute imposed; two of them, rigor-

\* Malms.

† Post Christ, 1041, Sim. Dun.

ous in their office, were slain at Worcester by the people; whereat the king enraged, sent Leofric, Duke of Mercia, and Siward of Northumberland, with great forces, and commission to slay the citizens, rife and burn the city, and waste the whole province. Affrighted with such news, all the people fled; the countrymen whither they could, the citizens to a small island in Severn called Bêverege, which they fortified and defended stoutly till peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their city they found sacked and burnt: wherewith, the king was appeased. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that towards his half-brethren, though rivals of his crown, he showed himself always tenderly affectioned; as now towards Edward, who without fear came to him out of Normandy, and with unfeigned kindness received, remained safely and honourably in his court. \* But Hardecnute the year following, at a feast when Osgod, a great Danish lord, gave his daughter in marriage at Lambeth, to Prudon, another potent Dane, in the midst of his mirth, sound and healthful to sight, while he was drinking, fell down speechless, and so dying, was buried at Winchester beside his father. He was, it seems, a great lover of good cheer; sitting at table four times a day, with a great variety of dishes and superfluity to all comers. Whereas saith Huntingdon, in our time princes in their houses made but one meal a day. He gave his sister Guniklis, a virgin of rare beauty, in marriage to Henry the Alman emperor; and to send her forth pompously all the nobility contributed their jewels and richest ornaments. But it may seem a wonder, that our historians, if they deserve that name, should, in a matter so remarkable, and so near their own time, differ. Huntingdon relates, against the credit of all other records, that, Hardecnute thus dead, the English rejoicing at this unexpected riddance of the Danish yoke, sent over to Elfred, the elder son of Emma by king Ethelred, of whom we heard but now, that he died a prisoner at Ely, sent thither by Harold six years before; that he came now out of Normandy,

Death of Hardecnute, A. D. 1042.

\* Post Christ. 1042. Sim. Dun.

with a great number of men, to receive the crown; that earl Godwin, aiming to have his daughter made queen of England, by marrying her to Edward, a simple youth, (for he thought Elfred to be of a higher spirit than to accept her) persuaded the nobles, that Elfred had brought over too many Normans, and had promised them land here; and that it was not safe to suffer a warlike and subtle nation to take root in the land; and that these were to be so handled as that none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the king; thereupon by common consent of the nobles, both Elfred and his company were dealt with as was above related; that they then sent for Edward out of Normandy, with hostages to be left there of their faithful intentions to make him king, and their desires not to bring over with him many Normans; that Edward, at their call, came then first out of Normandy; whereas all others agree, that he came voluntarily over to visit Hardecnute, as is before said, and was remaining then in court at the time of his death. For, Hardecnute being dead, saith Malmsbury, Edward, doubting greatly his own safety, determined to rely wholly on the advice and favour of earl Godwin; desiring therefore by messengers to have private speech with him, the earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, prince Edward came, and would have fallen at his feet; but, that not being permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help, to convey him some whither out of the land. Godwin, soon apprehending the fair occasion that now, as it were, prompted him how to advance himself and his family, cheerfully exhorted him to remember himself to be the son of king Ethelred, the grandson of king Edgar, the right heir to the crown, and of full age: and therefore not to think of flying, but of reigning; which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his counsel. Then, setting forth the power and authority which he had in England, he promised that it should be all employed to set him on the throne, if he, on his part, would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his house, and to marry his daughter. Edward, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to

Edward, the only surviving son of king Ethelred, is elected king of England in an Assembly of the States held at Gillingham, A. D. 1042.

whatever Godwin required. An Assembly of the States thereupon met at Gillingham, where Edward pleaded his right; and, by the powerful influence of Godwin, was accepted. Others, as Brompton, with no probability write, that Godwin at this time had fled into Denmark, for what he had done to Elfred; but returned thence to England, and submitted himself to Edward then king; but was by him charged openly with the murder of his brother Elfred, and, not without much ado, by the intercession of Leofric, and other peers, was received at length into favour.

#### EDWARD, the Confessor.

GLAD were the English to be delivered so unexpectedly from their Danish masters; and little did they think how near another conquest was hanging over them. Edward, the Easter following\*, was crowned at Winchester, and the same year, accompanied with the earls Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, came again thither on a sudden, and, by their counsel, seized on the treasure of his mother Emma. The cause alledged is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have loved Ethelred her former husband, and thereafter the children she had by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to monasteries. † About this time also king Edward, according to promise, took to wife Edith, or Egith, earl Godwin's daughter, commended much for beauty, modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a woman, learning. Ingulf, who was then a youth lodging in the court with his father, saw her oft, and when coming from the school, was sometimes met by her and posed, not in grainmar only, but in logic also.

Edward, the next year but one, ‡ made ready a strong navy at Sandwich against Magnus, king of Norway, who threatened an invasion, had not Swane, king of Denmark, diverted him from it by a war at home to defend his own land §; not out of good will to Edward, as may be supposed, who at the same time expressed none to the Danes, banishing, Gunildis, the niece of Canute, with her

\* Edward is crowned king of England at Winchester, A. D. 1043.

† He marries Edith, the daughter of earl Godwin, A. D. 1044.

\* Post Christ. 1043. Sim. Dun. † Malms. ‡ Post Christ. 1045. Sim. Dun. § Post Christ. 1046. Sim. Dun.

two sons, and Osgod by surname Clapa, out of the realm. \*Swane, overpowered by Magnus, sent the next year to entreat aid of king Edward; Godwin gave counsel to send him fifty ships fraught with soldiers; but, Leofric and the general voice gainsaying, none were sent. †The next year Harold Harvager, king of Norway, sending ambassadors, made peace with king Edward; but an earthquake at Worcester and Derby, and pestilence and famine in many places, much lessened the enjoyment thereof.

‡ The next year Henry, the Emperor, displeased with Baldwin, earl of Flanders, had straightened him with a great army by land; and sending to king Edward, desired him with his ships to hinder, what he might, his escape by sea. The king therefore, with a great navy, coming to Sandwich, there staid till the Emperor came to an agreement with earl Baldwin.

Meanwhile Swane, son of earl Godwin, who, (not being permitted to marry Edgiva, the abbess of Chester, who had been by him deflowered;) had left the land, came out of Denmark, with eight ships, feigning a desire to return into the king's favour; and Beorn, his cousin-german, who commanded part of the king's navy, promised to intercede, that his earldom might be restored to him. Godwin therefore and Beorn with a few ships, (the rest of the fleet being gone home), coming to Pevensey (but Godwin soon departing thence in pursuit of twenty-nine Danish ships, who had got much booty on the coast of Essex, and perished by tempest in their return) Swane with his ships comes to Beorn at Pevensey, guilefully requests him to sail with him to Sandwich, and reconcile him to the king, as he had promised. Beorn mistrusting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his ship attended by three only of his servants: but Swane, set upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the king, took Beorn now in his power, and bound him; then coming to Dartmouth, slew him, and buried him in a deep ditch. After which the men of Hastings took six of his ships, and brought them to the king off the port of Sandwich; with the other

Swane, a son of earl Godwin, perfidiously murders Beorn, his cousin-german.

\* Post Christ. 1047. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1048. Sim. Dun.

‡ Post Christ. 1049. Sim. Dun.



two he escaped into Flanders, there remaining till Aldred, bishop of Worcester, by earnest mediation wrought his peace with the king.

\* About this time king Edward sent to Pope Leo, desiring absolution from a vow which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to Rome, if God vouchsafed him to reign in England. The Pope dispensed with his vow, but not without the expense of his journey given to the poor, and a monastery built, or re-edified, to St. Peter; who (in a vision to a monk, as it is said,) chose Westminster for the situation of it; which king Edward thereupon re-building endowed it with large privileges and revenues.

The same year, saith Florent of Worcester, certain Irish pirates, with thirty-six ships, entered the mouth of the Severn, and, with the aid of Griffin, prince of South-Wales, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the river Wye, burnt Dunedham, and slew all the inhabitants they found. Against whom Aldred, bishop of Worcester, with a few men out of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, went out in haste: but Griffin, (to whom the Welsh and Irish had privily sent messengers,) came down upon the English with his whole power by night, and, early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight.

The king builds the abbey, or monastery, at Westminster.

Some Irish pirates, assisted by Griffin, prince of South Wales, molest the English provinces near the Severn.

The king remits the tax called Danegelt, A. D. 1051.

He promotes several Normans to great offices in England.

The English gentry began to imitate the manners and customs of the Normans and French.

† The next year but one, king Edward remitted the Danish tax which had continued thirty-eight years heavy upon the land, since Ethelred first paid it to the Danes; and what remained thereof in his treasury, he sent back to the owners; but, through imprudence, laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the English; while, studying gratitude to those Normans, who to him in exile had been helpful, he called them over to public offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse; by this means exasperating the two nations one against the other, and making way by degrees for the Norman conquest. Robert, a monk of that country, who had been serviceable to him there in the time of need, he made bishop first of London, then of Canterbury; and William, his chaplain, he made bishop of Dorchester. Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners; the great

• Malins.

† Post Christ. 1051. Sim. Dun. Ingulf.

peers

peers to speak French in their houses, and use the same language in writing their bills and letters. as a great piece of gentility, and as if they were ashamed of their own: which seems to have been a presage of their subjection shortly after to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly to adopt.

But that which gave beginning to many troubles ensuing, happened this year, and upon this occasion. \*Eustace, earl of Boloign, (father of the famous Godfrey; who won Jerusalem from the Saracens, and husband to Goda, the king's sister,) having been to visit king Edward, and returning by Canterbury to take ship at Dover, one of his harbingers, insolently seeking to lodge by force in a house there, provoked the master thereof to such a degree, that by chance, or heat of anger, he killed him. The count, with his whole train, going to the house where his servant had been killed, slew both the slayer and eighteen more, who defended him. But the townsmen running to arms requited him with the slaughter of twenty more of his servants, and wounded most of the rest; he himself, with one or two, hardly escaping, ran back with clamour to the king; whom, seconded by other Norman courtiers, he stirred-up to great anger against the citizens of Canterbury. Earl Godwin in haste is sent-for; the cause related and much aggravated by the king against that city, and the earl is commanded to raise forces, and treat the citizens thereof as enemies. Godwin, sorry to see strangers more favoured of the king than his native people, answered, that "it were better to summon, first, the chief men of the town into the king's court, to charge them with sedition, where both parties might be heard, that, if they should be found to have not been in fault, they might be acquitted: if otherwise, they might by fine, or loss of life, satisfy the king, whose peace they had broken, and the count, whom they had injured; but till this were done, he refused to prosecute with hostile punishment those men of his own country unheard, whom his office was rather to defend." The king, displeased with his refusal, and not knowing how to compel him, appointed an Assembly of all the peers to

A bloody quarrel between Eustace, earl of Boulogne, and the citizens of Canterbury. A. D. 1051.

The king holds an assembly of all the peers of England at Gloucester.

\* Malms.

be held at Gloucester, where the matter might be fully tried; the Assembly was full and frequent according to summons; but Godwin, mistrusting his own cause, or the violence of his adversaries, with his two sons, Swane and Harold, and a great power gathered out of his own and his sons' earldoms, which contained most of the south-east and west parts of England, came no farther than Beverstan, giving-out that their forces were to go against the Welsh, who intended an irruption into Herefordshire; and Swane, under that pretence, lay with part of his army thereabout. The Welsh, understanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themselves before the king, left Godwin, thus detected of false accusation, in great hatred to all the assembly. Leofric therefore and Siward, dukes of great power, the former in Mercia, the other in all parts beyond the Humber, both ever faithful to the king, send privily with speed to raise the forces of their provinces. Which Godwin not knowing sent boldly to king Edward, demanding count Eustace and his followers, together with those Boloignians, who, as Simeon writes, held a castle in the jurisdiction of Canterbury. The king, as then, having but little force at hand, entertained him a while with treaties and delays, till his summoned army drew nigh, and then rejected his demands. Godwin, thus matched, commanded his sons not to begin a fight against the king; but, if begun-with; not to give ground. The king's forces were the flower of those counties whence they came, and eager to fall-on: but Leofric and the wiser sort, detesting civil war\*, brought the matter to this accord; that, hostages being given on either side, the cause should be again debated at London. Thither the king and Lords coming with their army, sent to Godwin and his sons (who with their powers were come as far as Southwark) commanding their appearance unarmed with only twelve attendants, and that the rest of their soldiers they should deliver-over to the king. They to appear without pledges before an adverse faction, denied; but to dismiss their soldiers refused not, nor in aught else to obey the king as far as might stand with honour and the just regard of

The assembly of the  
peers removes to  
London.

\* Sim. Dun.

their safety. This answer not pleasing the king, an edict was presently issued forth, that Godwin and his sons within five days should depart the land. He, who perceived now his numbers to diminish, readily obeyed, and, with his wife and three sons, Tosti, Swane, and Gyrtha, with as much treasure as their ship could carry, embarking at Thorney, sailed into Flanders to earl Baldwin, whose daughter, Judith, Tosti had married: for Wulnod, his fourth son, was then a hostage to the king in Normandy; his other two, Harold and Leofwin, taking ship at Bristow, in a vessel that lay ready, there belonging to Swane, passed into Ireland. King Edward, pursuing his displeasure, divorced his wife Edith, earl Godwin's daughter, and sent her, despoiled of all her ornaments, to Warewel, with one waiting-maid; to be kept in custody by his sister, the abbess there. \* His reason of so doing was as harsh as his act, "that she only, while her nearest relations were in banishment, might not, though innocent, enjoy ease at home."

Earl Godwin and his sons are banished from England, A. D. 1051.

After this, William duke of Normandy, with a great number of followers coming into England, was by king Edward honourably entertained, and led about the cities and castles, as it were to show him what ere long was to be his own, (though at that time, saith Ingulf, no mention thereof passed between them) then, after some time of his abode here, presented richly and dismissed, he returned home.

William, duke of Normandy, comes to England to visit king Edward, A. D. 1051.

† The next year queen Emma died, and was buried at Winchester. The chronicle attributed to John Brompton, a Yorkshire abbot, (but, more probably, the work of some nameless author that lived under Edw. III. or later,) reports that the year before, by Robert, the archbishop, she was accused both of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, and of preparing poison for Edward also; lastly, of too much familiarity with Alwin, bishop of Winchester: and that, in order to prove her innocence, praying overnight to St. Swithune, she offered to walk blindfold between certain plough-shares made red-hot, according to the trial by ordeal, without harm; and afterwards did perform this dangerous penance; and that the king

The death of queen Emma, king Edward's mother, A. D. 1052.

\* Malms.

† Post Christ. 1051. Sim. Dun.



thereupon received her to honour, and from her and the bishop, penance for his credulity; that the archbishop, ashamed of his accusation, fled out of England: which, besides the silence of more ancient authors, (for the bishop fled not till a year after) brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be proved, that, in memory of this deliverance from the nine burning plough-shares, queen Emma gave to the abbey of St. Swithune nine manors, and bishop Alwin other nine.

About this time Griffin, prince of South Wales, wasted Herefordshire; to oppose whom the people of that country, with many Normans, garrisoned in the castle of Hereford, went out in arms, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driven-away by the Welsh. Soon after which Harold and Leofwin, sons of Godwin, coming into the Severn with many ships in the confines of Somerset and Dorsetshire, spoiled many villages, and resisted by those of Somerset and Devonshire, slew in a fight more than thirty of their principal men, many of the common sort, and returned with much booty to their fleet. \* King Edward, on the other side, made ready above sixty ships at Sandwich well stored with men and provision, under the conduct of Odo and Raduf, two of his Norman kindred, enjoining them to find-out Godwin, whom he heard to be at sea. To quicken them, he himself lay on ship-board, oft-times watched and sailed up and down in search of those pirates. But Godwin, whether in a mist, or by other accident, passing by them, arrived in another part of Kent, and dispersing several messengers abroad, by fair words allured the chief men of Kent, Surrey, and Essex, to his party; which news coming to the king's fleet at Sandwich, they hasted to find him out; but missing of him again, came-up without effect to London. Godwin, advertised of this, forthwith sailed to the Isle of Wight; where at length his two sons Harold and Leofwin finding him, with their united navy lay on the coast, forbearing other hostility than to furnish themselves with fresh victuals from land as they needed. Thence, as

\* Malms.



one fleet, they set-forward to Sandwich, using all fair means by the way to increase their numbers both of mariners and soldiers. The king, who was then at London, startled at these tidings, gave speedy order to raise forces in all parts that had not revolted from him; but now too late: for Godwin, within a few days after, with his ships or galleys came-up the river Thames to Southwark, and, till the tide returned, had conference with the Londoners; whom by fair speeches (for he was held a good speaker in those times) he brought to his bent. The tide returning, and none upon the bridge hindering, he rowed-up in his galleys along the south bank; where his land-army, now come to him, in array of battle now stood on the shore; then turning toward the north side of the river, where the king's galleys lay in some readiness, and land-forces also not far off, he made show as offering to fight; but they understood one another, and the soldiers on either side soon declared their resolution not to fight English against English. Thence coming to treaty, the king and the earl were reconciled, and both armies were dissolved, and Godwin and his sons were restored to their former dignities, except Swane, who, being touched in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn his kinsman, was gone barefoot to Jerusalem, and, returning home, died by sickness, or Saracens, in Lycia; and king Edward took to him again his wife Edith, Godwin's daughter, and restored her to her former dignity. Then were the Normans; (who had done many unjust things under the king's authority, and given him ill counsel against his people,) banished the realm; some of them, who were not blameable, being permitted to stay. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, William, bishop of London, Ulf, bishop of Lincoln, all Normans, hardly escaping with their followers, got to sea. The archbishop went with this complaint to Rome; but returning, died in Normandy at the same monastery from whence he came. Osbern and Hugh surrendered their castles, and, by permission of Leofric, passed through his counties with their Normans to Macbeth king of Scotland.

\* The year following, Rhese, brother to Griffin, prince of South Wales, who by inroads had done

• Post Christ. 1052. Sim. Dun.

The king and earl Godwin are reconciled, A. D. 1052.

Some of the king's Norman favourites are banished the realm.

Death of Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1052.

much

Death of earl Godwin, A. D. 1053.

much damage to the English, taken at Bulendun, was put to death by the king's order and his head brought to him at Gloucester. The same year at Winchester, on the second holiday of Easter, earl Godwin, sitting with the king at table, sunk-down suddenly in his seat as dead: his three sons, Harold, Tosti, and Girtha, forthwith carried him into the king's chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had so seized him, that the fifth day after he expired. The Normans, who hated Godwin, give-out, saith Malmsbury, that, mention happening to be made of Elfred, and the king thereat looking sourly upon Godwin, he, to vindicate himself, uttered these words: "Thou, O king, at every mention made of thy brother Elfred, lookest frowningly upon me; but let God not suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I be guilty of aught done against his life or thy advantage;" that after these words, choaked with the morsel taken, he sunk-down and recovered not. His first wife was the sister of Canute, a woman of much infamy for the trade she drove of buying-up English youths and maids to sell in Denmark, whereof she made great gain; but ere long was struck with thunder, and died.

Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, is defeated and slain by Siward, earl of Northumberland, A. D. 1054.

\* The year ensuing, Siward, earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet at the king's appointment, made an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots with those Normans that went thither, and placed Malcolm, son of the Cumbrian king, on the throne in his stead; yet not without loss of his own son, and many other soldiers, both English and Danes. When he was told of his son's death†, he asked whether he received his death's wound before or behind. When it was answered, that the wound was before; "I am glad to hear that," saith he, "and should not else have thought him, though my son, worthy of burial."

In the mean-while king Edward, being without issue to succeed him, sent Aldred, bishop of Winchester, with great presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the king of Hungary, that Edward, the remaining son of his brother Edmund Ironside, might be sent into England.

\* Post Christ. 1054. Sim. Dun.

† Huntingd.  
Siward,

Siward; but one year surviving his great victory, died at York \*; reported by Huntingdon a man of giant-like stature; and by his own demeanour at the point of death; manifested to have been of a rough and meer soldierly mind. For, much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, and not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caused himself, compleatly armed, and weaponed with battle-axe and shield, to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of war, as they are such, but as they serve to end war soonest by a victorious peace. His earldom the king bestowed on Tosti, the son of earl Godwin: and soon after, in a convention held at London, banished, without visible cause, (Huntingdon saith for treason,) Algar, the son of Leofric, who, passing into Ireland, soon returned with eighteen ships, to Griffin, prince of South-Wales, requesting his aid against king Edward. He assembling his powers, entered with him into Herefordshire; whom Radulf, a timorous captain, (son to the king's sister, not by Eustace, but by a former husband,) met two miles distant from Hereford; and having horsed the English (who knew better to fight on foot) without stroke he with his French and Normans beginning to fly, taught the English by his example to do so likewise. Griffin and Algar following the chace, slew many, wounded more, entered Hereford, slew seven. Canons who were defending the minster, burnt, first, the monastery and reliques, and then the city; killing some, leading captive others, of the citizens, returned with great spoils; whereof king Edward having notice, he gathered a great army at Gloucester under the conduct of Harold now earl of Kent, who, strenuously pursuing Griffin, entered Wales, and encamped beyond Straddale. But the enemy flying before him farther into the country, leaving there the greater part of his army with such as had charge to fight, if occasion were offered, with the rest he returned, and fortified Hereford with a wall and gates. Mean-while Griffin and Algar dreading the di-

Death of Siward,  
A. D. 1055.

Tosti, the son of  
earl Godwin, is made  
earl of Northumber-  
land in his stead.

And Algar, the son  
of Leofric, is ban-  
ished.

\* Post Christ. 1055. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1056. Sim. Dun.

ligence of Harold, after many messages to and fro, concluded a peace with him. Algar discharging his fleet with pay at West-Chester, came to the king, and was restored to his earldom. But Griffin with breach of faith, the next year \* set upon Leofgar, the Bishop of Hereford, and his clerks, then at a place called Glastbrig; with Agelnorth viscount of the shire, and slew them; but Leofric, Harold, and king Edward, by force, as is likeliest, though it be not said how, reduced him to peace.

Death of prince Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, A. D. 1057.

The death of Leofric, earl of Mercia, A. D. 1057.

† The next year Edward, son of Ednumd Ironside, for whom his uncle, king Edward had sent to the Emperor, came out of Hungary, designed successor to the crown; but, within a few days after his coming, died at London, leaving behind him Edgar Atheling, his son, Margaret and Christina, his daughters. About the same time also died earl Leofric in a good old age, a man of no less virtue than power in his time, religious, prudent, and faithful to his country, happily wedded to Godiva, a woman of great praise. His son, Algar, found less favour with king Edward, being again banished the year after his father's death ‡; but he again, by the aid of Griffin and a fleet from Norway, maugre the king, soon recovered his earldom.

§ The next year Malcolm, king of Scots, coming to visit king Edward, was brought on his way by Tosti, the Northumbrian earl, to whom he swore brotherhood; yet the next year but one ||, while Tosti was gone to Rome with Aldred, archbishop of York, for his pall, this sworn brother, taking advantage of his absence, roughly harrassed Northumberland. The Year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inroads and robberies of Griffin, whom no bonds of faith could restrain, king Edward sent against him, after Christmas, Harold, now duke of the West-Saxons, ¶ with no great body of horse, from Gloucester, where he then kept his court; whose coming, heard-of, Griffin not daring to abide, nor in any part of his land holding himself secure, escaped hardly by sea, ere Harold coming

\* Post Christ. 1056. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1058. Sim. Dun.

‡ Post Christ. 1061. Sim. Dun.

+ Post Christ. 1057. Sim. Dun.

¶ Post Christ. 1059. Sim. Dun.

§ Post Christ. 1062. Sim. Dun.



to Rudeland, burnt his palace and ships there, and returned to Gloucester the same day. \* But, by the middle of May, setting-out with a fleet from Bristow, he sailed about the most part of Wales, and, being met by his brother Tosti with many troops of horse, as the king had appointed, began to waste the country; but the Welch, giving pledges, yielded themselves, and promised to become tributary and banish Griffin their prince; who lurking somewhere, was the † next year taken and slain by Griffin, prince of North-Wales; his head, with the head and tackle of his ship, sent to Harold, and by him to the king, who, of his gentleness, made Blechgent and Rithwallon, or Rivallon, his two brothers, princes in his stead; they to Harold, in behalf of the king, swore fealty and tribute. ‡ Yet the next year Harold having built a fair house at a place called Portascith in Monmouthshire, and stored it with provision, that the king might lodge there in time of hunting, Carradoc, the son of Griffin slain the year before §, came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took-away the provision. Soon after which the Northumbrians in a tumult at York beset the palace of Tosti, their earl, slew more than two hundred of his soldiers and servants, pillaged his treasure, and forced him to fly for his life. The cause of this insurrection they alledged to be, for that the queen Edith had commanded, in her brother Tosti's behalf, Gospatric, a nobleman of that country to be treacherously slain in the king's court; and that Tosti himself the year before, with like treachery, had caused to be slain in his chamber Gamel and Ulf, two other of their noblemen, besides his intolerable exactions and oppressions. Then, in a manner, the whole country, coming-up to complain of their grievances, met with Harold at Northampton, whom the king, at Tosti's request, had sent to pacify the Northumbrians; but, they laying-open the cruelty of his government, and their own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyranny of any governor whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and, Harold hearing reason, all the accomplices of Tosti were expelled the earldom.

An Insurrection of the Northumbrians against Tosti, their Earl. A. D. 1065.

\* Post Christ. 1053. Sim. Dun.

† Post Christ. 1065. Sim. Dun.

‡ Post Christ. 1064. Sim. Dun.

§ Camden.



He is banished the realm, and Morcar is made Earl of Northumberland in his stead.

He himself was banished the realm, and went into Flanders; and Morcar, the son of Algar, made earl in his stead. Huntingdon tells another cause of Tosti's banishment, that one day at Windsor, while Harold reached the cup to king Edward, Tosti, envying to see his younger brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his hair; the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants rushing between, and Tosti forbidden the court. He with continued fury riding to Hereford, where Harold had many servants, preparing an entertainment for the king, came to the house and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off hands, arms, legs of some, heads of others, threw them into butts of wine, meath, or ale, which were laid in for the king's drinking; and, at his going away, charged them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his farm what he pleased, but of souse he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for this barbarous act the king pronounced him banished; that the Northumbrians, taking advantage at the king's displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be revenged of his cruelties done to themselves. But this no way agrees; for why then should Harold, or the king, so much labour with the Northumbrians to re-admit him, if he were a banished man for his crimes done before?

Earl Harold goes to Normandy and is entertained there by William the Duke. A. D. 1065.

About this time it happened, that Harold, putting to sea one day for his pleasure\*, in a fisher-boat, from his manor at Boseham in Sussex, being caught in a tempest too far off land, was carried into Normandy; and by the earl of Ponthieu, (on whose coast he was driven), was, at his own request, brought to duke William; who, entertaining him with great courtesy, so far won him, as to induce him to promise the duke by oath, of his own accord, not only to deliver up to him the castle of Dover, then in his tenure; but the whole kingdom also; after king Edward's death, to his utmost endeavour, thereupon betrothing the duke's daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say, that king Edward himself, after the death of Edward his nephew, sent Harold thither on purpose to acquaint duke William

\* Malms.

with

with his intention to bequeath him his kingdom\* : but Malmsbury accounts the former story to be the truer. Ingulf writes, that king Edward (now grown old, and perceiving Edgar, his nephew, to be, both in body and mind, unfit to govern, especially against the pride and insolence of Godwin's sons, who would never obey him ; and duke William, on the other hand, to be a man of high merit, and considering likewise that he was his kinsman by the side of his mother, queen Emma); had sent Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, to acquaint the duke with his purpose, not long before Harold came thither. The former part may be true, that king Edward, upon such considerations, had sent some person or other to duke William ; but it could not be archbishop Robert ; because he had fled the land, and had been dead many years before. Eadmer and Simeon write, that Harold went of his own accord into Normandy, by the king's permission or connivance, to get free his brother Wulnod and his nephew Hacun, the son of Swaine, whom the king had taken as hostages of Godwin, and had sent into Normandy : and that thereupon king Edward had forewarned Harold, that his journey thither would be to the detriment of all England and to his own reproach. And they further write that duke William then acquainted Harold, how Edward; ere his coming to the crown, had promised, if ever he attained it, to leave duke William successor after him. Last of these old historians, Matthew Paris writes, that Harold, to get free of duke William, affirmed his coming thither not to have been by accident or force of tempest, but on set purpose, in that private manner to enter with him into secret confederacy : so variously are these things reported. After this king Edward grew sickly†; yet, as he was able, he kept his Christmas at London, and was present at the dedication of St. Peter's church in Westminster, which he had rebuilt; but on the eve of Epiphany, or Twelf-tide, he died much lamented, and in the church was entombed.

Death of King Edward. January 5, A. D. 1066.

That he was harmless and simple, is conjectured by his His character.

\* Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noricor. † Post Christ. 1066, Sim. Dun.  
words

words in anger to a peasant who had crossed his game (for with hunting and hawking he was much delighted) "by God and God's mother, said he, I shall do you as shrewd a turn, if I can;" observing that law-maxim, better than any of his successors, "That the king of England can do no wrong." The softness of his nature gave growth to factions of those about him, Normans especially and English; the latter complaining that Robert, the archbishop, was a sower of dissention between the king and his people, a traducer of the English; the other side, that Godwin and his sons bore themselves arrogantly and proudly towards the king, usurping to themselves an equal share in the government; oft-times making sport with his simplicity\*; and that, through their power in the land, they made no scruple to kill men to whose inheritance they took a liking, and so to take possession. The truth is, that Godwin and his sons did many things boisterously and violently, much against the king's mind; which not being able to resist, he had, as some say, taken such a dislike to his wife, Edith, Godwin's daughter, as in bed never to have touched her; whether for this cause, or mistaken chastity, (not commendable) to enquire further, is not material.

His laws were held good and just, and, not long after, were desired by the English of their Norman kings; and they are yet extant. He is said to have been at table not excessive, at festivals nothing puffed-up with the costly robes he wore, which his queen with curious art had woven for him in gold. He was full of alms-deeds, and exhorted the monks to like charity. He is said to be the first English king that cured the disease thence called *the king's evil*; yet Malmsbury blames them who attribute that cure to his royalty, and not to his sanctity; he is said also to have cured certain blind men with the water wherein he had washed his hands. A little before his death, lying speechless two days, the third day after a deep sleep, he was heard to pray, that, if it were a true vision, not an illusion, which he had seen, God would give him strength to utter it, otherwise not. Then he related how he had seen two devout monks, (whom he knew in Normandy to have lived and died well,) who, appearing, told him that they were sent

• Huntingd.

messengers

messengers from God to foretel, that, because the great-ones of England, dukes, lords, bishops, and abbots, were not ministers of God, but of the devil, God had delivered the land to their enemies; and, when he desired that he might reveal this vision, to the end they might repent, it was answered, "they neither will repent, nor will God pardon them." At this relation others trembling, Stigand, the simoniacal archbishop, whom Edward, much to blame, had suffered many years to sit primate in the church, is said to have laughed, as at the feverish dream of a doting old man; but the event proved it to be true.

HAROLD, son of earl Godwin.

HAROLD, (whether he had by king Edward, a little before his death, been ordained successor to the crown, as Simeon of Durham, and \* others. affirm; or, by the prevalence of his faction, he had excluded *Edgar*, (who was surnamed *Atheling*, on account of his noble descent from king Edmund Ironside, of whom he was the grandson,) as Malsbury and Huntingdon agree,) immediately after the conclusion of the funeral of king Edward, and on the same day, was elected and crowned king: and was no sooner placed on the throne, but he began to frame himself, by all manner of compliances, to gain the affections of the people; he endeavoured to make good laws, repealed bad ones, became a great patron to the church and churchmen, courteous and affable to all that were reputed good, a hater of evil-doers, and charged all his officers to punish thieves, robbers, and all disturbers of the peace, while he himself, by sea and land, laboured in the defence of his country: so good an actor is ambition. In the mean while a blazing star, seven mornings together, about the end of April, was seen to stream terribly. not only over England, but other parts of the world, foretelling here, as was thought, the great changes that were approaching: plainliest prognosticated by Elmer, a monk of Malsbury, who could not foresee, when time was, the breaking of his own legs for soaring too high. He in his youth, strangely aspiring, had

Harold, the son of earl Godwin, is elected and crowned king. In January, A. D. 1066.

\* Hoved. Florent.



His brother Tosti  
commits acts of pi-  
racy on the coast of  
England.

made and fitted wings to his hands and feet; with these, on the top of a tower, spread-out to gather air, he flew more than a furlong; but, the wind being too high, he came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his limbs; yet so conceited was he of his art, that he attributed the cause of his fall to the want of a tail, as birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This story, though seeming otherwise too light to appear in the midst of a sad narration, yet, for the strangeness thereof, I thought worthy enough to be placed here, as I found it placed in my author. But, (to digress no farther) Tosti, the king's brother, coming from Flanders, full of envy at his younger brother's advancement to the crown, resolved, what he might, to trouble his reign; forcing therefore the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight to contribution, he sailed thence to Sandwich, committing piracies on the coast between. Harold, then residing at London, with a great number of ships drawn-together, and of horse-troops by land, prepares in person for Sandwich: whereof Tosti having notice, directs his course with sixty ships towards Lindsey \*, taking with him all the seamen he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many villages, and slew many of the inhabitants; but Edwin, the Mercian duke, and Morcar his brother, the Northumbrian earl, with their forces on either side, soon drove him out of the country. Who thence betook him to Malcolm, the Scottish king, and with him abode the whole summer.

But is driven-away  
by Earls Edwin and  
Morcar.

William, duke of  
Normandy, lays  
claim to the crown  
of England.

About the same time, duke William sending ambassadors to admonish Harold of his promise and oath, to assist him in his plea to the kingdom, he made answer, that, by the death of his daughter betrothed to him on that condition, he was absolved of his oath†; or, if she was not dead, he could not take her now, (being an outlandish woman,) without consent of the realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted-in, if, without consent or knowledge of the states, he had sworn-away the right of the kingdom; that what he swore was to gain his liberty, being in a manner then his prisoner; that it was unreasonable in the duke to require, or expect, of him the foregoing of a kingdom, conferred upon him

of the

\* Malm's, † Eadmer,

with



with the universal favour and acclamation of the people. To this flat denial he added contempt, sending the messengers back, saith Matthew Paris, on maimed horses. The duke thus contemptuously put-off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting-forth the justice of his cause; which Harold, (whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the ways to Rome were stopped,) sought not to do. Duke William, besides the promise and oath of Harold, alledged that king Edward, by the advice of Siward, Godwin himself, and Stigand the archbishop, had given him the right of succession, and had sent him the son and nephew of Godwin, as pledges of the gift: the Pope sent to duke William, after this demonstration of his right, a consecrated banner: Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an army of tall and stout soldiers, under captains of great skill and mature age, came in August to the port of St. Valerie. Mean-while Harold from London comes to Sandwich, there expecting his navy; which also coming, he sails to the Isle of Wight; and, having heard of duke William's preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the coast, and foot-forces every where in fit places to guard the shore. But ere the middle of September, provision failing when it was most needed, both fleet and army return home. When, on a sudden, Harold Harvager, king of Norway, with a navy of more than five hundred great ships\*, (others lessen them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of the Tine; to whom earl Tosti with his ships came, as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed and entered the river Humber. Thence turning into the Ouse, as far as Rical, they landed, and took York by assault. At these tidings Harold with all his power hastes thitherward; but ere his coming, Edwin and Morcar at Fulford by York, on the north-side of the Ouse, about the feast of St. Matthew had given them battle; successfully at first, but were over-borne at length with numbers; and being forced to turn their backs, more of

The Pope approves his claim, and sends him a consecrated banner.

The king of Norway, with a great army, invades the North of England, in September, 1066.

\* Malms. Matt. Paris.

And is defeated in a great battle by king Harold at Stamford-bridge.

them perished in the river, than in the fight. The Norwegians, taking with them five hundred hostages out of York, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retired to their ships. But the fifth day after, king Harold with a great and well-appointed army, coming to York, and at Stamford-bridge, or Battle-bridge on the Darwent, assailing the Norwegians, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut-off the greatest part of them with Harvager their king, and Tosti, his own brother \*. But Olave, the king's son, and Paul, earl of Orkney, (who had been left with many soldiers to guard the ships,) surrendering themselves, with hostages and oath given "never to return as enemies," he suffered them freely to depart with twenty ships and the small remnant of their army. † One man of the Norwegians is not to be forgotten, who with incredible valour keeping the bridge a long hour against the whole English army, with his single resistance, delayed their victory; and scorning offered life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an arrow; and by his fall opened the passage of pursuit to a compleat victory. Wherewith Harold lifted-up in mind, and forgetting now his former shews of popularity, defrauded his soldiers of their due and well-deserved share of the spoils.

The duke of Normandy invades England with a great army, on the 29th of September, 1066.

While these things passed in Northumberland, duke William lay still at St. Valerie; his ships were ready, but the wind served not for many days; which put the soldiery into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky sign of their success. At last the wind becoming favourable, the duke, first under sail, awaited the rest at anchor, till, all coming-forth, the whole fleet of nine hundred ships with a prosperous gale arrived at Hastings. At his going out of the boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the omen ‡, a soldier standing-by said aloud, "that their duke had taken possession of England." Landed, he restrained his army from waste and spoil, saying that they ought to spare what was their own. But these things are related of Alexander and

\* Camd.

† Malms.

‡ Sim, Dun.

Cæsar, and, I doubt, are thence borrowed by the monks to adorn their story. The duke, for fifteen days after landing, kept his men quiet within the camp, having taken the castle of Hastings, or built a fortress there, Harold, secure the while, and proud of his new victory, thought all his enemies now under his feet: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that duke William of Normandy with a great multitude of horse and foot, slingers and archers, besides other choice auxiliaries which he had hired in France, was arrived at Pevensey. Harold, who had expected him all the summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, (for it was October,) with his forces much diminished after two sore conflicts, and the departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to London. Thence, not tarrying for supplies which were on their way towards him, hurries into Sussex (for he was always in haste since the day of his coronation) and, ere the third part of his army could be well put in order, finds the duke about nine miles from Hastings, and now drawing-nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his enemies: them, discovered to be such, the duke causing to be led-about, and afterwards to be well filled with meat and drink, sent-back. They, not over-wise, brought word that the duke's army were most of them priests; for they saw their faces all-over shaven; the English then using to let grow on their upper-lip large mustachios, as did anciently the Britains. The king laughing answered, that they were not priests, but valiant and hardy soldiers. Therefore, said Girtha his brother, a youth of noble courage and of understanding above his age, "Forbear thou thyself to fight, who art obnoxious to duke William by your oath: and let us, unsworn, undergo the hazard of battle, who may justly fight in the defence of our country; thou, reserved to fitter time, mayest either re-unite us flying, or revenge us dead." The king, not hearkening to this, lest it might seem to argue fear in him, or a bad cause, with like resolution rejected also the offers of duke William sent to him by a monk before the battle, with this only answer hastily delivered. "Let God judge between us." The offers were these, "that Harold would either lay-

The English under Harold are defeated with great slaughter by the Normans near Hastings in Sussex, on the 14th of October, 1066.

down the scepter, or hold it of him ; or would try his title with him by single combat in sight of both armies ; or would refer it to the Pope." These offers being rejected, both sides prepared to fight the next morning ; the English, from singing and drinking all night ; the Normans, from confession of their sins, and communion of the host. The English were in a streight, disadvantageous, place, so that many, discouraged with their ill-ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slipped-away before the onset ; the rest in close order with their battle-axes and shields ; made an impenetrable squadron : the king himself, with his brothers on foot stood by the royal standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwoven with gold and precious stones. The Norman foot, most bowmen, made to foremost front, on either side wings of horse somewhat behind. When the duke was arming, his corslet being given him on the wrong side, he said pleasantly, "The strength of my dukedom will be turned now into a kingdom." Then the whole army singing the song of Rowland, the remembrance of whose exploits might hearten them, imploring lastly divine help, the battle began ; and was fought sorely on either side : but the main body of English foot by no means would be broken, till the duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into open disorder, then turned suddenly upon them, when so routed by themselves ; which wrought their overthrow : yet so they died not unmanfully, but turning oft upon their enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down in heaps, and filled-up a great ditch with their carcasses. Thus hung the victory wavering on either side, from the third hour of day to evening : when Harold, having maintained the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, being shot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his soldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied enemy. With Harold fell also his two brothers, Leofwin and Girtha, and with them the greatest part of the English nobility. His body lying dead, a knight, or soldier, who wounded it on the thigh, was by the duke immediately turned out of the military service. Of Normans and French were slain no small number ; the duke himself also that day not



a little hazarded his person, having had three choice horses killed under him. The Victory being obtained, and his dead carefully buried, the English dead also being buried by permission; he sent the body of Harold to his mother without ransom, though she had offered a very great sum to redeem it; which having received, she buried it at Waltham, in a church built there by Harold. In the mean-while Edwin and Morcar, who had withdrawn themselves from Harold, hearing of his death, came to London; sending Aldgith, the queen, their sister, with all speed to West-chester. Aldred, archbishop of York, and many of the nobles, with the Londoners, would have set-up Edgar Atheling, the right heir, and prepared themselves to fight for him; but Morcar and Edwin not liking the choice, who each of them expected to have been chosen before him, withdrew their forces and returned home. Duke William, contrary to his former resolution, (if Florent of Worcester, and they who follow him \* say true,) wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way; or rather, as saith Malmsbury, not in hostile, but in regal, manner, came-up to London, and was met at Barcham by Edgar, with the nobles, bishops, citizens, and, at length, Edwin and Morcar, who all submitted to him, gave hostages and swore fidelity to him: and he to them promised peace and defence; yet permitted his men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to London with all his army, he was on Christmas day solemnly crowned in the great church at Westminster, by Aldred, archbishop of York, having first given his oath at the altar, in presence of all the people, to defend the church, well govern the people, maintain right law, prohibit rapine and unjust judgement. Thus the English, while they agreed not about the choice of their native king, were constrained to take the yoke of an outlandish conqueror. With what mind and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this servitude, William of Malmsbury spares not to lay open. Not a few years before the Normans came, the clergy, though in Edward the confessor's days, had lost all good literature and religion, being scarce

William, duke of Normandy, is elected and crowned king of England on the 25th of December, A. D. 1066.

\* Sim, Dun,



*The History of England.*

able to read and understand their Latin service: and any one of them, who knew his grammar, was considered as a miracle by the others. The monks went clad in fine stuffs, and made no difference what they eat; which, though in itself no fault, yet to their consciences was irreligious. The great men, given to gluttony and dissolute life, made a prey of the common people, abusing their daughters whom they had in service, then turning them off to the stews; the meaner sort, tippling together night and day, spent all they had in drunkenness, attended with other vices which effeminate mens' minds. Whence it came to pass, that, carried-on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of war, they gave to William, their conqueror, so easy a conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And, as the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity oft-times exempts not good men from their share in evil times with the bad.

If these were the causes of such misery and thralldom to those our ancestors, with what better close can we conclude this history, than by here, in fit season, admonishing this present age, in the midst of her security, to fear, from like vices without amendment, the return of like calamities?

A. D. 1670.

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

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AN

INDEX

OF ALL THE CHIEF PERSONS AND MATERIAL PASSAGES  
CONTAINED IN THE FOREGOING

HISTORY.

---

A.

ADDA succeeds his father Ida in the kingdom of Bernicia, p. 113.

Adminius, the son of Cunobeline, banished his country, flies to the emperor Caligula, and stirs him up against it, p. 43.

Aganippus, a Gaulish king, marries Cordelia, the daughter of king Leir, p. 16.

Agricola, son of Severianus, spreads the Pelagian doctrine in Britain, p. 92.

Aidan, a Scotch bishop, sent for by Oswald to settle religion, p. 135. He hath his episcopal seat at Lindisfarne, p. 136.

He dies for grief of the murder of Oswin, p. 138.

Alaric takes Rome from the emperor Honorius, p. 81.

Alban of Verulam, with others, suffers martyrdom under Dioclesian, p. 74.

Albanact, one of the three sons of Brutus, hath Albania, now Scotland, for his share in the kingdom, p. 12.

Albion, the ancient name of this island, p. 4. Whence derived, ib.

Albina, said to be the eldest of Dioclesian's 50 daughters, ib. From her the name Albion derived, ib.

Alcred, slaying Ethelwald, usurps the kingdom of the Northumbrians, p. 155.

Aldfrid, recalled from Ireland, succeeds his brother Ecfrid in the Northumbrian kingdom, p. 147. He leaves Osred, a child, to succeed him, p. 148.

Aldulf, the nephew of Ethelwald, succeeds him, as king of the East-Angles, p. 163.

Alectus treacherously slays his friend Carausius to get the dominion, p. 73. Is overthrown by Asclepiodotus, and slain, ib.

Alemannus

- Alemannus, reported one of the four sons of Histon, descended from Japhet, and of whom the Alemanni or Germans, p. 4.
- Alfage, archbishop of Canterbury, inhumanly used by the Danes, p. 222. Killed outright by Thrum, a Dane, in commiseration of his misery, *ib.*
- Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwolf, and successor of his brother Ethelred, encounters the Danes at Wilton, p. 177. He gives battle to the whole Danish power at Edinton, and, totally routing them, brings them to terms, p. 179. He is said to have bestowed the country of the East-Angles upon Gytro, or Guthran, a Danish king, who had been lately baptised, p. 180. A long war afterwards maintained between him and the Danes, p. 181, &c. He dies in the 30th year of his reign, and is buried at Winchester, p. 185. His noble character, p. 185, 186, 187.
- Alfwold, driving out Eardulf, usurps the kingdom of Northumberland, p. 162.
- Algar, earl of Howland, (now Holland,) Morcard, lord of Brunne, and Osgot, governor of Lincoln, slaughter a great multitude of the Danes in battle, with three of their kings, p. 175. Overpowered with numbers and drawn into a snare, Algar dies valiantly, fighting, *ib.*
- Algar, the son of Leofric, banished by king Edward, joins with Griffin, prince of South-Wales, p. 251. Unable to withstand Harold, earl of Kent, he submits to the king and is restored, p. 252. Banished, again he recovers his earldom by force, *ib.*
- Alpius made deputy of the British province in the room of Martinus, p. 75.
- Alla begins the kingdom of Deira, in the south part of Northumberland, p. 113.
- Alric, king of Kent, after Ethelbert the II. p. 155. With him dying, ends the race of Hengist, p. 158.
- Ambrosius Aurelianus dreaded by Vortimer, p. 104. Defeats the Saxons in a memorable battle, *ib.* Uncertain whether the son of Constantine, the usurper, or the same with Merlin, and son of a Roman consul, *ib.* He succeeds Vortigern as chief monarch of the isle, *ib.*
- Anacletus, the friend of king Pandrasus, is taken in fight by Brutus, p. 8. He is forced by Brutus to betray his own countrymen, *ib.*
- Andragius, one in the catalogue of ancient British kings, p. 23.
- Androgeus, one of Lud's sons, hath London assigned him and Kent, p. 24. Forsakes his claim to the kingdom, and follows Caesar's fortune, p. 42.
- Anlaf, the Dane, with his army of Irish, and Constantine, king of Scotland, utterly discomfited by king Athelstan, p. 195, 196, &c.

Anna

C.B. 1111A

- Anna succeeds Sigebert in the kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 137. He is slain in war by Penda, the Mercian, p. 139.
- Antigonus, the brother of king Pandrasus, taken in fight by Brutus, p. 8.
- Antonius sent against the Caledonians by his father, Severus, p. 70. After whose death he takes hostages and departs to Rome, *ib.*
- Archigallo deposed for his tyranny, p. 22. Being restored by his brother, he becomes a new man, and reigns worthily, *ib.*
- Archimailus, one in the number of ancient British kings, p. 24.
- Armorica, in France, peopled by Britains that fled from the Saxons, p. 101.
- Arthur, the victory at Badon-hill, by some ascribed to him, which by others is attributed to Ambrose, p. 109. Who he he was, and whether the author of such famous acts as are related of him, *ib.* 110, &c.
- Arviragus, engaging against Claudius, keeps up the battle to a victory, by personating his slain brother, Guiderius, p. 45.
- Athelstan, the son of king Edward the elder by a concubine, solemnly crowned at Kingston-upon-Thames, p. 193. The conspiracy of one Alfred and his accomplices, against him, discovered, p. 194. He gives his sister Edgith to Sitric, the Dane, but drives Anlaf and Guthferd out of their kingdom, *ib.* The story of his dealing with his brother Edwin questioned as improbable, *ib.* He overthrows a vast army of Scotch and Irish, under Anlaf, and Constantine, king of Scotland, p. 195, 196, &c. He dies at Gloucester, and is buried at Malmsbury, p. 198. His character, *ib.*
- Assaracus, a Trojan prince, joins with Brutus against Pandrasus, p. 7.
- Aulus Plautius sent against this island by the emperor Claudius, p. 43. He overthrows Caractacus and Togodumnus, p. 44. Is very much put to it by the Britains, *ib.* Sends to Claudius to come over, and joins with him, *ib.* Leaves the country quiet, and returns triumphant to Rome, p. 45.
- Aurelius Conanus, a British king, one of the five that is said to have reigned toward the beginning of the Saxon Heptarchie, p. 116.
- Austin, with others, sent over from Rome to preach the Gospel to the Saxons, p. 121. He is received by king Ethelbert, who hears him in a great assembly, p. 122. He is ordained archbishop of the English, p. 123. He hath his seat at Canterbury, p. 124. He summons together the British bishops, requiring them to conform with him in points wherein they differed, p. 125. Upon their refusal he stirs up Ethelfrid against them, to the slaughter of 1200 monks, p. 127.

Bardus,

## B.

- Eardus, one of the first race of kings fabled to have reigned in this island, p. 3. Descended from Samothēs, ib.
- Beorn preceeds Ethelred in the kingdom of East-Angles, p. 163.
- Bericus, flying to Rome, persuades the emperor Claudius to invade this island, p. 43.
- Bernulf usurping the kingdom of Mercia from Keolwulf, is overthrown by Ecbert at Ellandune, p. 163. Flying to the East-Angles is by them slain, ib.
- Berinus, a bishop, sent by pope Honorius, converts the West-Saxons, and their kings, to christianity, p. 136.
- Birhtic, king of the West-Saxons after Kinwulf, p. 156. He secretly seeks the life of Ecbert, p. 160. Is poisoned by a cup which his wife had prepared for another, p. 161.
- Bladud; the son of Rudhuddibras, builds Caerbadus, or Bath, p. 14.
- Bleduno, one in the number of the ancient British kings, p. 23.
- Blegabedus, his excellency in music, p. 23.
- Boadicia, the wife of Prasutagus, together with her daughters, abused by the Roman soldiers, p. 52. Commands in chief in the British army against the Romans, p. 54. Vanquished by Suetonius, is thought to have poisoned herself. p. 55.
- Bonusus, a Britain by descent, endeavouring to make himself emperor, but vanquished by Probus, hangs himself, p. 70, 71.
- Brennus and Belinus, the sons of Dunwallo Mulmutius, contend about the kingdom, p. 19. After various conflicts they are reconciled by their mother, Conuenna, p. 20. They turn their united forces into foreign parts, but Belinus returns and reigns long in peace, ib.
- Britain, the history of the affairs thereof, altogether obscure and uncertain till the coming of Julius Cæsar, p. 2. By whom first peopled, p. 3. Named first Samothea, from Samothēs, ib. Next Albion, and from whence, p. 4.
- Britains stoutly oppose Cæsar at his landing in this island, p. 30. They offer him terms of peace, p. 31. Their manner of fighting, p. 33. They are defeated by Cæsar and brought anew to terms of peace, p. 34. A sharp dispute between the Britains and Romans, near the Stower in Kent, p. 35. Their nature and customs, p. 40. Their cruel massacre upon the Romans, p. 53. They are acquitted of the Roman jurisdiction by the emperor Honorius, not able to defend them against their enemies, p. 81. They again supplicate Honorius for aid, who spares them a Roman legion, p. 90. And again at their renewed request a new supply, ib. Their submissive letter to Ætius, the Roman consul, p. 94. Their luxury and wickedness, and the corruption of their clergy, p. 95, 114, 115. Their embassy to the Saxons



- Saxons for their aid against the Scots and Picts, with the Saxons answer, p. 98, 99. Miserably harrassed by the Saxons, whom they called in, p. 101. Routed by Kerdic, p. 106. By Kenric and Keaulin, p. 113, 117, &c. By Cuthulf, *ib.* They totally vanquish Keaulin, p. 118. They are put to flight by Kenwalk, p. 141.
- Britto, named among the four sons of Histon, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Britains said to be derived, p. 5.
- Brutus, said to be descended from Æneas, a Trojan prince, p. 6. Retiring into Greece, after having unfortunately killed his father, he delivers his countrymen from the bondage of Pandrasus, p. 6, 7, &c. Marries Innogen, the eldest daughter of Pandrasus, p. 9. He lands upon a desert island, called Leogicia, *ib.* Where he consults the oracle of Diana, p. 10. Meets with Corineus, p. 11. Overcomes Goffarius Pictus, *ib.* Arrives in this island, *ib.* Builds Troja Nova, p. 12.
- Brutus, surnamed Greenshield, succeeds Ebranc and gives battle to Brunchildis, p. 14.
- Burhead, holding of Ethelwolf the Mercian kingdom after Bertulf, reduceth the North-Welsh to obedience, p. 170. He marries Ethelswida, the daughter of king Ethelwolf, *ib.* Driven out of his kingdom by the Danes, he flies to Rome, where, dying, he is buried in the English school, p. 178. His kingdom let out by the Danes to Kclwulf, *ib.*

## C.

- Cadwallon, see Kedwella.
- Cæsar, see Julius Cæsar.
- Cajus Sidius Geto behaves himself valiantly against the Britains, p. 44.
- Cajus Volusenus sent into Britain by Cæsar to make discovery of the country and people, p. 29.
- Caligula, a Roman emperor, p. 42.
- Camalodunum, or Maldon, the chief seat of Kymbeline, *ib.* made a Roman colony, p. 47, 52.
- Camber, one of the sons of Brutus, hath allotted to him Cambria, or Wales, p. 12.
- Canute, the son of Swane, chosen king after his father's death by the Danish army and fleet, p. 224. Is driven back to his ships by Ethelred, *ib.* Returns with a great navy from Denmark, accompanied with Lachman, king of Sweden, and Olav, of Norway, p. 225. After several conflicts with Edmund, he at length divides the kingdom with him by agreement, p. 229. After Edmund's death reigns sole king, p. 231. He endeavours the extirpation of the Saxon line, *ib.* He settles his kingdom, and makes peace with the princes round about him, p. 232. He causes Edric, whose  
treason

- treason he had made use of, to be slain, and his body to be thrown over the city wall, &c. *ib.* He subdues Norway, p. 233. Takes a voyage to Rome, and offering there rich gifts, vows amendment of life, *ib.* He dies at Shaftsbury, and is buried at Winchester, p. 234. His censure, p. 234, 235.
- Capis, one in the catalogue of the ancient kings, p. 23.
- Capoirus, another of the same number, p. 24.
- Caractacus, the youngest son of Cunobeline, succeeds in the kingdom, p. 43. Is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, p. 44. Heads the Silures against the Romans, p. 47. Is betrayed by Cartismandua, to whom he fled for refuge, p. 48. Is sent to Rome, *ib.* His speech to the Emperor, *ib.* By the braveness of his carriage he obtains pardon for himself and all his company, p. 49.
- Carausius, grown rich with piracy, possesses himself of this island, p. 71, 72. He fortifies the wall of Severus, *ib.* In the midst of the great preparations of Constantius Chlorus against him, he is slain by his friend Alectus, p. 73.
- Carnus, sent by his father Carus, the emperor, to govern this isle of Britain, is overcome and slain by Dioclesian, p. 71.
- Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, delivers Caractacus bound to the Romans, p. 48. Deserts her husband Venu-tius, and gives both herself and kingdom to Vellocatus, one of his squires, p. 50.
- Carvilius, a petty king in Britain, assaults the Roman camp with three others, p. 39.
- Cassibelaun, one of the sons of Heli, gains the kingdom by common consent, p. 24. His generosity to his brothers' sons, *ib.* He heads the Britains against Julius Cæsar and the Romans, p. 36. He is deserted by the Trinobantes, and why, p. 38. He yields to Cæsar, p. 39. Is reported to have had war with Androgeus, dies, and is buried at York, *ib.*
- Cataracta, an ancient city in Yorkshire, burnt by Arnred a tyrant.
- Catellus, an ancient British king, p. 23.
- Cerdic, a Saxon prince, lands at Cerdic shore, and overthrows the Britains, p. 106. Defeats their king Natanleod in a memorable battle, *ib.* Finds the kingdom of West-Saxons, p. 108. See Kerdic.
- Cherin, an ancient British king, p. 23.
- Christian faith received in Britain by king Lucius, p. 165. Said to have been preached by Faganus and Deruvianus, p. 66. Others say long before by Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathæa, *ib.* Upon what occasion preached to the Saxons, p. 121.
- Chrysanthus, the son of Marcianus, a bishop, made deputy of Britain by Theodosius, p. 78.
- Cingetorix,

- Cingetorix, a petty king in Britain, assaults the Roman camp, p. 39. Is taken prisoner by Cæsar, *ib.*
- Claudius, the emperor, is persuaded by Bericus, though a Britain, to invade this island, p. 43. He sends Aulus Plautius hither with an army, *ib.* He comes over himself and joins with Plautius, p. 44. Defeats the Britains in a set battle, and takes Camalodunum, p. 45. He returns to Rome, leaving Plautius behind, *ib.* He hath excessive honours decreed him by the senate, *ib.*
- Cliguellius, an ancient British king, p. 24.
- Clodius Albinus succeeds Pertinax in the government of Britain for the Romans, p. 67. He is vanquished and slain in a battle against Septimius Severus, *ib.*
- Coilus, the son of Marius, leaves the kingdom to Lucius, p. 66.
- Coillus, an ancient British king, p. 23.
- Comail, and two other British kings, slain by Keaulin, and his son Cuthwin, p. 117.
- Comius, of Arras, sent by Cæsar to make a party among the Britains, p. 29.
- Constans (of a monk made a Cæsars) reduces all Spain to his father Constantius's obedience, p. 80. Displacing Gerontius is opposed by him, and at last slain, *ib.*
- Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, saluted emperor after his father's death, p. 74. His mother said to be Helena, the daughter of Coilus, a British prince, *ib.* His eldest son, of the same name, enjoys among other provinces of the empire, this island also, 75. A common soldier, of the same name, saluted emperor, p. 79. By the valour of Oedebeus and Gerontius, he gains in France as far as Arles, p. 80. By the conduct of his son Constans, and of Gerontius, he reduces all Spain, *ib.* Gerontius, displaced by him, calls in the Vandals against him, *ib.* Besieged by Constantius Comes, he turns priest, is afterwards carried into Italy, and put to death, p. 81.
- Constantine, the son of Cador, sharply inveighed against by Gildas, p. 116. He is said to have murdered two young princes of the blood royal; *ib.*
- Constantine, king of Scotland, joining with the Danes and Irish, under Anlaf, is overthrown by Athelstan, p. 195.
- Constantius Chlorus sent against Carausius, p. 72. Defeats Alectus, who is slain in the battle, p. 73. Is acknowledged by the Britains as their deliverer, *ib.* Divides the empire with Galerius, p. 74. Dies at York, *ib.*
- Constantius, the son of Constantine, overcomes Magnentius, who contested with him for the sole empire, p. 75.
- Cordeilla's sincere answer to her father begets his displeasure, p. 15, 16. She is married to Aganippus, a king in Gaul, *ib.* She receives her father, rejected by his other daughters, with

- with most dutiful affection, p. 17. Restores him to his crown, and reigns after him, *ibid.* Is vanquished, deposed, and imprisoned by her two sisters' sons, *ib.*
- Corineus, a Trojan commander, joins forces with Brutus, p. 11. Slays Imbertus, *ib.* Arrives with Brutus in this island, *ibid.* Cornwall, from him denominated, falls to his lot, *ib.* He overcomes the giant Goemagog, p. 12.
- Crida, the first of the Mercian kingdom, p. 118.
- Cuichelm, the West-Saxon, sends Eumerus, a swordman, to assassinate king Edwin, p. 130. Is baptised in Dorchester, but dies the same year, p. 136.
- Cunedagius, the son of Regan, deposeth his aunt Cordelia, p. 17. Shares the kingdom with his cousin Marganus, is invaded by him, meets him and overcomes him, *ib.*
- Cuneglas, a British king, reigns one of five, a little before the Saxons were settled, p. 116.
- Cunobeline, see Kymbeline.
- Cutha helps his father Keaulin against Ethelbert, p. 113.
- Cuthred, king of West-Saxons, joins with Ethelbald, the Mercian, and gains a great victory over the Welsh, p. 152. He hath a fierce battle with Ethelbald, the Mercian, which he not long survives, p. 153. A king of Kent, of the same name, p. 162.
- Cuthulf, the brother of Keaulin, vanquisheth the Britains at Bedanford, and takes several towns, p. 117.
- Cuthwin, see Keaulin.

## D.

- Danes first appear in the west, p. 157. They slay the king's gatherers of custom, *ib.* Landing at Lindisfarne in Yorkshire, they pillage that monastery, slay and captivate several, both friars and others, p. 158. Attempting to spoil another monastery, they are cut off by the English, p. 159. They make very great waste and havock in Northumberland, p. 164. They waste Shepey in Kent, and engage with Ecbert, near the river Carr, p. 167. They are overthrown and put to flight by Ecbert, p. 168. Their various success in the reign of Ethelwolf, *ib.* &c. Many great battels between them and the English, in the reign of Ethelred, with various fortune, p. 175, 176, &c. Their whole army being defeated, they are brought to terms by king Alfred, p. 180. In the same king's reign, several vast fleets of Danes arrive with fresh supplies, p. 181. A vast army of them overthrown by king Athelstan, p. 195. A massacre committed upon them by the English in all parts of the land, in the reign of king Ethelred, p. 216.
- Danius reckoned among the ancient British kings, p. 21.
- Deruvianus, see Faganus.

Dinothus,

- Dinothus, abbot of Bangor, his speech to bishop Austin, p. 126.  
 Dioclesian, supposed a king of Syria, and his fifty daughters having (all but one) murdered their husbands, supposed to have been driven upon this island, p. 4.  
 Dis, the first peopler of this island, as some fabulously affirm, p. 3. The same with Samothēs, *ibid*.  
 Donaldus said to have headed the Caledonians against Septimius Severus, p. 70.  
 Donaldus, King of Scotland, brought to hard conditions by Osbert and Ella, kings of Northumberland, p. 171.  
 Druids falsely alledged out of Cæsar to have forbidden the Britains to write their memorable deeds, p. 1, 2.  
 Druis the Third, from Samothēs, fabulously written the ancientest king of this island, p. 3.  
 Dunstane sent the nobles to reprove king Edward for his luxury, p. 202. Banished by the king, and his monastery rifled, *ibid*. Recalled by king Edgar, *ibid*. His miraculous escape, when the rest of the company were killed by the fall of a house, p. 210.  
 Dunwallo Mulmutius, Son of Cloten, king of Cornwall, reduces the whole island into a monarchy, p. 18. Establisheth the Molmutin Laws, *ibid*.  
 Durshus, king of the Picts, said to be slain by the joint forces of the Britains and Romans, p. 91.

E.

- Eadbald, after the death of his father Ethelbert, falls back to Heathenism, p. 128. He runs distracted, but afterwards returns to his right mind and faith, *ibid*. By what means it happened, *ibid*. He gives his sister Edelburga in marriage to Edwin, p. 130. He dies and leaves his son Ercombert to succeed, p. 136.  
 Eadbert shares with his two brothers in the kingdom of Kent, after Victred, p. 142. His death, p. 153. Eadbert, king of Northumberland, after Kelwulf, wars against the Picts, *ibid*. Joins with Unust, king of the Picts, against the Britains in Cumberland, p. 154. Forsakes his crown for a monk's hood, *ibid*.  
 Eatbright, otherwise called Ethelbert, usurping the kingdom of Kent, and contending with Kenulph the Mercian, is taken prisoner, p. 160.  
 Eadburga, by chance, poisons her husband Berthric with the cup which she had prepared for another, p. 161. The choice proposed to her by Charles the Great, to whom she fled, *ibid*. He assigns her a rich monastery to dwell in as abbess, p. 162. Detected of unchastity, she is expelled, and dies in beggary at Pavia, *ibid*.  
 Eandred, son of Eardulf, reigns thirty years king of Northumberland



- berland after Alfwold the usurper, p. 162. Becomes tributary to Ecbert, p. 165.
- Eanfrid, the son of Ethelfrid, succeeds in the kingdom of Bernicia, p. 135.
- Eardulf, supposed to have been slain by Ethelred, is made king of the Northumbrians in York, after Osbald, p. 159, 160. In a war raised against him by his people, he gets the victory, *ibid.* Is driven out of his kingdom by Alswolp, p. 162.
- East-angle kingdom, by whom erected, p. 107
- East-Saxon kingdom, by whom begun, p. 105. The people converted by Mellitus, p. 125. They expel their bishop, and renounce their faith, p. 128. Are re-converted by means of Edwi, p. 139.
- Ebranc succeeds his father Mempricius in the kingdom of Britain, p. 13. Builds Cær-Ebranc, now York, and other places, *ib.*
- Ecbert succeeds his father Esconbert in the kingdom of Kent, p. 142. Dying, leaves a suspicion of having slain his uncle's sons, Elbert and Egelbright, p. 143.
- Ecbert, of the West-Saxon lineage, flies from Birthric's suspicion to Offa, and thence into France, p. 160. After Birthric's decease is recalled, and, with general applause, made king, p. 160, 161. He subdues the Britains of Cornwall, and beyond Severn, p. 162, 163. Overthrows Bernulf, the usurper of Mercia, at Ellandune or Wilton, p. 163. The East-Angles having slain Bernulf, yield to his sovereignty, *ib.* Drives Baldred, king of Kent, out of his kingdom, and causeth both Kent and other provinces to submit to his sceptre, p. 164. Withlaf, of Mercia, becomes tributary to him, *ib.* He gives the Danes battle by the river Carr, p. 167. In another battle he puts to flight a great army of them, together with the Cornish men, joining with them, p. 168. He dies, and is buried at Winchester, *ib.*
- Ecferth, the son of Offa, the Mercian, within four months ends his reign, p. 159.
- Ecfrid, Oswi's eldest son, succeeds him in the kingdom of Northumberland, p. 143. Wins Lindsey from Wulfer, the Mercian, *ib.* He wars against Ethelred, the brother of Wulfer, p. 146. He sends Bertus with an army to subdue Ireland, *ib.* Marching against the Picts, is cut off with most of his army, p. 147. His death revenged by Bertfrid, a Northumbrian captain, p. 149.
- Edan, a king of the Scots in Britain, put to flight by Ethelfrid, p. 124.
- Edelard, king of the West Saxons after Ina, molested with the rebellion of his kinsman Oswald, p. 152. Overcoming those troubles, dies in peace, *ib.*
- Edgar, the brother, and successor of Edwi in the English monarchy,

- monarchy, calls home Dunstan from banishment, p. 202. His peaceable and prosperous reign, and his favour towards the monks, p. 203. His strict observance of justice, and his care to secure the nation with a strong fleet, *ib.* He is homaged, and rowed down the river Dee, by eight kings, p. 204. His expostulation with Kened, king of Scotland, p. 204, 205. He is cheated by the treacherous duke Athelwold of Elfsida, whom, avenging himself upon the said duke, he marries, p. 205, 206. Attempting on the chastity of a young lady at Andover, he is pleasantly deceived by the mother, p. 206, 207. Dying in the height of his glory, he is buried at Glaston Abbey, p. 204.
- Edgar, surnamed Atheling, his right and title to the crown of England, from his grandfather Edmund Ironside, p. 252. Excluded by Harold, son of earl Godwin, p.
- Edilhere, the brother and successor of Anna in the kingdom of the East Angles, slain in a battle against Oswi, p. 141.
- Edilwalk, the South Saxon, persuaded to Christianity by Wulfer, p. 144.
- Edmund crowned king of the East-Angles at Burie, p. 171. His whole army put to flight by the Danes, he is taken, bound to a stake, and shot with arrows, p. 175, 176.
- Edmund, the brother and successor of Athelstane in the English monarchy, frees Mercia, and takes several towns from the Danes, p. 199. He drives Anlaf and Suthfrid out of Northumberland, and Dummail out of Cumberland, p. 200. The strange manner of his death, *ib.*
- Edmund, surnamed Ironside, the son of Ethelred, set up by divers of the nobles against Canute, p. 227. In several battles against the Danes, he comes off for the most part victorious, p. 228, 229. At length consents to divide the kingdom with him, *ibid.* His death thought to have been violent, and not without Canute's consent, p. 230.
- Edred, the third brother and successor of Athelstane, with much ado reduceth the Northumbrians, and puts an end to that kingdom, p. 201. Dies in the flower of his age, and is buried at Winchester, *ib.*
- Edric, the son of Edelwalk, king of South Saxons, slain by Kedwalla the West Saxon, p. 145.
- Edric, surnamed Streon, advanced by king Ethelred, marries his daughter Elgiva, p. 219. He secretly murders two noblemen whom he had invited to his lodging, p. 224, 225. He practises against the life of prince Edmund, and revolts to the Danes, p. 226. His cunning devices to hinder Edmund in the prosecution of his victories against Canute, p. 229. Is thought by some to have been the contriver of king Edmund's murder, p. 230. The government of the Mercians conferred upon him, p. 232. He is put to death by Canutus, and his head stuck upon a pole, and set upon the highest tower in London, *ib.*

- Edward, the elder son and successor of king Alfred, hath war with Ethelwald his kinsman, who, aspiring to the crown, stirs up the Danes against him, p. 187. He proves successful and potent, divers princes and great commanders of the Danes submitting to him, p. 191. The king, and whole nation of Scotland, with divers other princes, and people, do him homage as their sovereign, p. 192. He dies at Farendon, and is buried at Winchester, p. 193.
- Edward, surnamed the Younger, Edgar's son, by his first wife, Egelfleda, is advanced to the throne, p. 209. The contest in his reign between the monks and secular priests, each abetted by their several parties, p. 210. Great mischief done by the falling of a house where a general council for deciding the controversy was held, *ib.* Edward inhumanely murdered by the treachery of his step-mother, Elfrida, *ib.*
- Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, heir apparent to the crown, dies at London, p. 252.
- Edward, surnamed the Confessor, the son of king Ethelred, by Emma, after Hardecnute's death, is crowned at Winchester, p. 242. He seizeth on the treasures of his mother, queen Emma, *ib.* He marries Edith, earl Godwin's daughter, *ib.* He makes preparation against Magnus, king of Norway, *ib.* But next year makes peace with Harold Harvager, p. 243. He advances the Normans in England, which proves of ill consequence, p. 244. He is opposed by earl Godwin in the cause of Eustace of Boloign, banishes the earl, and divorces his daughter whom he had married, p. 246, 247. Entertains duke William of Normandy, *ib.* He sends Odo and Radulf with a fleet against Godwin, and his sons, exercising piracy, p. 248. Reconciliation at length made, he restores the earl, his sons and daughter, all to their former dignities, p. 249. He is said to have designed duke William of Normandy his successor to the crown, p. 254. Dies and is buried at Westminster, p. 255. His character, *ib.* 256.
- Edwi, the son and successor of Edmund, is crowned at Kingston, p. 201. He banisheth bishop Dunstan for reproving his wantonness with Algiva, and proves an enemy to all monks, p. 202. The Mercians and Northumbrians revolt from him, and set up his brother Edgar, *ib.* With grief thereof he ends his days, and is buried at Winchester, *ib.*
- Edwin thrown out of the kingdom of Deira by Ethelfrid, p. 118, 129. Flying to Redwall the East-Angle for refuge, he is defended against Ethelfrid, *ib.* He exceeds in power and extent of dominion all before him, p. 130. Marries Edelburga, the sister of Eadbald, *ib.* He is wounded by an assassin from Cuichelm, *ib.* The strange relation of his conversion to Christianity, p. 131, &c. He persuades Eor-
- pald,

- pald, the son of Redwald, to embrace the Christian faith, p. 134. He is slain in a battle against Kedwalla, *ib.*
- Edwin, duke of the Mercians, see Morcar.
- Elanius reckoned in the number of ancient British kings, p. 21
- Eldadus, p. 23.
- Eldol, p. 24.
- Eledancus, p. 23.
- Elfed, the sister of king Edward the elder, takes Derby from the Danes, p. 189. Her army of Mercians victorious against the Welsh, *ib.* After several martial acts, she dies at Tamworth, p. 191.
- Elfred, the son of king Ethelred, by Emma, betrayed by earl Godwin, and cruelly made away by Harold, p. 237.
- Elfwald, the son of Oswulf, succeeding Ethelred in Northumberland, is rebelled against by two of his noblemen, Osbald and Ethelheard, p. 155. He is slain by the conspiracy of Siggan, one of his nobles, p. 156, 157.
- Elfwyn slain in a battle between his brother Ecfred and Ethelred, p. 146.
- Elidure's noble demeanor towards his deposed brother, p. 22. After Archigallo's death, he resumes the government, but is driven out again and imprisoned, by his two other brethren, p. 22, 23.
- Ehnd reckoned in the number of ancient British kings, p. 23.
- Ella, the Saxon, lands with his three sons, and beats the Britains in two battels, p. 105. He and his son Cissa take Andredschester, in Kent, by force, p. 106. Begins his kingdom of the South Saxons, *ib.*
- Elwold, nephew of Ethelwald, reigns king of the East-Angles - after Aldulf, p. 163.
- Emeric succeeds Otha in the kingdom of Kent, p. 113.
- Emma, the daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, married first to K. p. 216. Afterwards to Canute, p. 232. Banished by her son-in-law Harold, she retires to Flanders, and is entertained by earl Baldwin, p. 237. Her treasures seized on her by her son king Edward, p. 242. She dies, and is buried at Winchester, p. 247. A tradition concerning her questioned, p. 248.
- Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, king of the East-Angles, persuaded to Christianity by Edwin, p. 134. He is slain in fight by Ricbert, a pagan, *ib.*
- Erchenwin, said by Huntingdon to be the erector of the kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 108.
- Ercombert succeeds Eadbald in the kingdom of Kent, p. 136.
- Eric, see Iric.
- Ermenred thought to have had more right to the kingdom than Ercombert, p. 137.
- Escwin and Kenswin, the nephew and son of Kinegil, said to have succeeded Kenwalk in the government of the West-Saxons,



- Saxons, p. 143. Escwin joins battle with Wulfer at Bedan-hafer, and not long after deceaseth, ib.
- Estrildis, beloved by Lochrine, p. 12. Is with her daughter Sabra thrown into a river, p. 13.
- Ethelbald, king of Mercia after Ina, commands all the provinces on this side Humber, p. 150. He takes the town of Somerton, p. 152. Fraudulently assaults part of Northumberland in Eadbert's absence, *ibid.* His encounter at Beorford with Cuthred the West-Saxon, p. 153. In another, bloody fight at Secandune, he is slain, 154.
- Ethelbald and Ethelbert share the English-Saxon kingdom between them after their father Ethelwolf, p. 172. Ethelbald marries Judith his father's widow, p. 173. Is buried at Shirburn, *ib.*
- Ethelbert succeeds Emeric in the kingdom of Kent, p. 113. He is defeated at Wibbandun, by Keaulin and his son Cutha, *ibid.* Enlarges his dominions, from Kent to Humber, p. 120. Civilly receives Austin, and his fellow-preachers of the gospel, p. 122. Is himself baptised, p. 123. Moved by Austin, he builds St. Peter's church in Canterbury, and endows it, p. 124. He builds and endows St. Paul's church in London, and the cathedral at Rochester, p. 125. His death, p. 127.
- Ethelbert, Eadbert, and Alric, succeed their father Victred in the kingdom of Kent, p. 149, see Eadbright.
- Ethelbert, the son of Ethelwolf, after the death of his brother Ethelbald, enjoys the whole kingdom to himself, p. 173. During his reign the Danes waste Kent, *ibid.* He is buried with his brother at Shirburn, p. 174.
- Ethelfrid succeeds Ethelric in the kingdom of Northumberland, p. 119. He wastes the Britains, p. 124. Overthrows Edan, king of Scots, *ib.* In a battle at Westchester, against the British forces, he slays above 1200 monks, p. 126.
- Ethelmund and Weolstan, the opposite leaders of each party, in a fight between the Worstershire men and Wiltshire men, slain, p. 161.
- Ethelred, succeeding his brother Wulfer in the kingdom of Mercia, recovers Lindsey, and other parts, p. 143. Invades the kingdom of Kent, p. 144. A sore battle between him and Ecfred the Northumbrian, p. 146. After the violent death of his queen, he exchanges his crown for a monk's cowl, p. 148.
- Ethelred, the son of Mollo, the usurper Alced being forsaken by the Northumbrians, and deposed, is crown'd in his stead, p. 155. Having caused three of his noblemen to be treacherously slain, he is driven into banishment, *ib.* After ten year's banishment, restored again, p. 157. He cruelly and treacherously puts to death Oelf, and Oelfwin, the sons of Elfwald formerly king, p. 158. And afterwards Ored, who,



- who, though shaven a monk, attempted again upon the kingdom, *ib.* He marries Elfled, the daughter of Offa, *ib.* Is miserably slain by his people, p. 159.
- Ethelred, the son of Eandred, driven out in his fourth year, p. 169. Is re-exalted to his seat, but slain the fourth year after, *ib.*
- Ethelred, the third son of Ethelwolf, the third monarch of the English-Saxons, infested with fresh invasions of the Danes, p. 174. He fights several great battles with the Danes with various success, p. 176. He dies in the fifth year of his reign, and is buried at Winburn, p. 177.
- Ethelred, the son of Edgar, by Elfrida, crowned at Kingston, p. 211. Dunstan, at his baptism, presages ill of his future slothful reign, *ib.* New invasions of the Danes, and great spoils committed by them in his reign, p. 212, 213, &c. Being reduced to streights, by the Danes, he retires into Normandy, p. 223. Recalled by his people, and joyfully received, p. 224. Drives Canute, the Dane, back to his ships, *ib.* He dies at London, p. 227.
- Ethelric, Ida's son, expels Edwin, the son of Alla, out of the kingdom of Deira, p. 118.
- Ethelwald, the son of Oswald, king of Deira, taking part with the Mercians, withdraws his forces, 140, 141.
- Ethelwald, the brother of Edelhere, succeeds him in the kingdom of East-Angles, *ib.*
- Ethelwald, surnamed Mollo, set-up king of the Northumbrians, in the room of Oswulf, p. 155. He slays in battle Oswin, a Lord that rebelled against him, *ib.* Is set upon by Alced, who assumes his place, *ib.*
- Ethelwolf, the second monarch of the English-Saxons, of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious, p. 168. He, with his son Ethelbald, gives the Danes a total defeat at Ak-Lea, or Oak-Lea, p. 170. He dedicates the tenth of his whole kingdom toward the maintenances of masses and psalms for the prospering of him and his captains against the Danes, *ib.* Takes a journey to Rome with his son Alfrid, and marries Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, of France, p. 170, 171. He is driven, by a conspiracy, to consign half his kingdom to his son Ethelbald, *ib.* Dies, and, is buried at Winchester, p. 172.
- Ethelwolf, earl of Berkshire, obtains a victory against the Danes at Englefield, p. 176. In another battle is slain himself, p. *ib.*
- Etheldrith, refusing for 12 years her husband Ecfrid's bed, at length veils herself a nun, and is made abbess of Ely, p. 146.
- Eustace, count of Boloign, revenging the death of one of his servants, is set upon by the citizens of Canterbury, p. 245. He complains to king Edward, who takes his part against the

the Cantaburians, and commands earl Godwin against them, but in vain, *ibid.*

## F.

- Faganus and Deruvianus said to have preached the gospel here, and to have converted almost the whole island, p. 66.
- Faustus, incestuously born of Vortimer and his daughter, lives a devout life in Glamorganshire, p. 102.
- Fergus, king of Scots, said to be slain by the joint forces of the Britains and Romans, p. 91.
- Ferrex, the son of Gorbogudo, slays in fight his brother Porrex, though assisted with forces out of France, p. 18. Is in revenge slain himself in bed by his mother, Videnia, *ib.*
- Flattery odious and contemptible to a generous spirit, p. 235, 236.
- Francus, named among the four sons of Istion, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Franks said to be derived, p. 4.
- Fulgenius reckoned among the ancient British kings, p. 23. The commander in chief of the Caledonians against Septimius Severus, so called by Geoffry of Monmouth, p. 70.

## G.

- Galgacus heads the Britains against Julius Agricola, p. 61.
- Germanus in a public disputation at Verulam, puts to silence the chief of the Pelagians, p. 93. He is intreated by the Britains to head them against the Picts and Saxons, *ib.* He gains the victory by a religious stratagem, *ib.* His death, p. 96.
- Gerontius, a Britain, by his valour advances the success of Constantine, the usurper, in France and Spain, p. 80. Displaced by him, he calls in the Vandals against him, *ib.* Deserted by his soldiers, he defends himself, valiantly, with the slaughter of 300 of his enemies, *ib.* He kills his wife, Nonnichia, refusing to out-live him, *ib.*
- Geruntius, the son of Elidure, not his immediate successor, p. 23.
- Godwin, earl of Kent, and the West-Saxons, stand for Hardecnute, p. 236. He betrays Prince Elfred to Harold, p. 237, 238. Being called to account by Hardecnute, he appeaseth him with a very rich present, p. 239. He earnestly exhorts Edward to take upon him the crown of England, p. 241. Marries his daughter to king Edward, p. 242. He raises forces in opposition of the French, whom the king favoured, p. 245, 246. Is banished, p. 247. He and his sons uniting in a great fleet grow formidable, p. 248. Coming up to London with his ships, and preparing for battle, a reconciliation is suddenly made between him and the king, *ib.*  
Sitting

- Sitting with the king at table, he suddenly sinks down dead in his seat, p. 250.
- Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, believed the first that peopled these west and northern climes, p. 3.
- Gonorill gains upon the affection of her father, king Leir, by her dissimulation, p. 15. She is married with Maglaunus, duke of Albania, p. 16. Her ingratitude to her father, after she had gained from him what she could, *ib.*
- Gorbogudo, or Gorbodego, succeeds Kinmarcus in the kingdom, p. 18.
- Gorbonian succeeds Morindus in the kingdom, p. 21. His justice and piety, *ib.* &c.
- Gratianus Funarius, the father of Valentinian, commander in chief of the Roman armies in Britain, p. 75.
- Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards pope, procures the sending over of abbot Austin, and others, to preach the gospel to the Saxons in this island, p. 121.
- Griffin, prince of South-Wales, joining with Algar, and committing great spoil in Hereford, is pursued by Harold, earl of Kent, p. 251. After a peace concluded, he breaks his faith, and returns to hostility, 252. Is again reduced, *ib.* Harold sent against him, brings the Welsh to submission, p. 252, 253. Lurking about the country, he is taken and slain by Griffin, prince of North-Wales, *ib.*
- Guendolen, the daughter of Corineus, is married to Locrine, the son of Brutus, p. 12. Being divorced by him, gives him battle, wherein he is slain, p. 13. Causeth Estrildis, whom Locrine had married, to be thrown into a river, with her daughter Sabra, *ib.* Governs fifteen years in behalf of her son Madan, *ib.*
- Gueniver, the wife of Melval, a British king, kept from king Arthur in the town of Glaston, p. 110.
- Guiderius, said to have been the son of Cunobeline, and slain in a battle against Claudius, p. 45.
- Guitheline succeeds his father, Gurguntius Barbirus, in the kingdom, p. 21.
- Gunhildis, the sister of Swane, with her husband, earl Palingus, and her young son, cruelly murdered, p. 217.
- Guorangonus, a king of Kent before it was given to the Saxons, p. 100.
- Guortigner, the son of Vortiger, bends his endeavours to drive out the Saxons, p. 101. His success against them in several battles, p. 102. Dying, he commands his bones to be buried in the port of Stonar, *ib.*
- Gurguntius Barbirus, succeeds Belinus in the kingdom, overcomes the Danes, and gives encouragement to Bartholinus, a Spaniard, to settle a plantation in Ireland, p. 20, 21. Another ancient British king named Gurguntius, p. 23.
- Gurgustius succeeds Rivallo in the kingdom, p. 16.

Gyrtha,

Gyrtha, son of earl Godwin, accompanies his father into Flanders, together with his brothers, Tosti and Swane, p. 247. His noble advice to his brother Harold, as he was ready to give battle to duke William of Normandy, p. 304. He is slain in the said battle, with his brothers, Harold and Leofwin, p. 305.

Gythro, or Gothrun, a Danish king, baptized, and received out of the font by king Alfred, p. 180. The kingdom of the East-Angles said to be bestowed, on him to hold of the said Alfred, *ib.*

## H.

Hardecnute, the son of Canute, by Emma, called over from Bruges, and received king with general acclamation, p. 238. He calls Godwin, and others, to account about the death of Elfred, p. 239. Enraged at the citizens of Worcester, for killing his tax-gatherers, he sends an army against them, and burns the city, p. 240. He kindly receives and entertains his half-brother, Edward, *ib.* Eating and drinking hard at a great feast, he falls down speechless, and soon after expiring, is buried at Winchester, *ib.*

Harold, surnamed Harefoot, the son of Canute, elected king by duke Leofric and the Mercians, p. 236. He banishes his mother-in-law, Emma, p. 237. His perfidiousness and cruelty towards Elfred, the son of Ethelred, *ib.* He dies, and is buried at Winchester, 238.

Harold, son of Godwin, made earl of Kent, and sent against prince Griffin, of Wales, p. 251. He reduces him at last to utmost extremity, p. 252. Being cast upon the coast of Normandy, and brought to duke William, he promises his endeavours to make him king of England, p. 254. He takes the crown himself, 299. Puts off duke William, demanding it with a slighting answer, p. 300, 301. Is invaded by his brother, Tosti, p. 300. By Harold Harvager, king of Norway, whom he utterly overthrows and slays, together with Tosti, p. 301, 302. Is invaded by duke William, of Normandy, p. 303. Is overthrown at the battle of Hastings, and slain, together with his two brothers, Leofwin and Gyrtha, p. 305.

Helvius Pertinax succeeds Ulpus Marcellus in the government of Britain, p. 67.

Hengist and Horsa, with an army of Saxons, Jutes and Angles, lands in the isle of Thanet, p. 99. Hengist invites over more of his countrymen, p. 100. He gains advantages of Vortimer, by marrying his daughter to him, *ib.* He takes on him kingly title, p. 103. His several battles against the Britains, *ib.* His treacherous slaughter of 300 British grantees, under pretence of treaty, p. 104. His death, *ib.*

Henninus,

- Henninus, duke of Cornwall, hath Regan, the daughter of king Leir, given him in marriage, p. 16.  
 Herebert, a Saxon earl, slain, with most part of his army, by the Danes, at a place called Merceswar, p. 168.  
 Hinguar and Hubba, two Danish brethren, how they got footing by degrees in England, p. 174.  
 Histon, said to be descended of Japhet, and to have had four sons, who peopled the greatest part of Europe, p. 4.  
 Honorius, the emperor, sends aid twice to the Britains against their northern invaders, p. 90.  
 Horsa, the brother of Hengist, slain in the Saxons' war against the Britains, p. 103. His burial-place gave name to Horsted, a town in Kent, *ib.*  
 Humbeanna and Albert, said by some to have shared the kingdom of East-Angles after one Elfwald, p. 164.

## I.

- Jago, or Lago, succeeds his uncle, Gurgustius, in the kingdom, p. 18.  
 Icenians, and, by their example, the Trinobantes, rise up in arms against the Romans, p. 52.  
 Ida, the Saxon, begins the kingdom of Bernicia, in Northumberland, p. 112.  
 Idwallo, learns by his brother's ill success to rule well, p. 23.  
 Immanuentius slain by Cassibelan, p. 28.  
 Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert, noblemen of Mercia, throw off Oswi, and set-up Wulfer, p. 141.  
 Ina succeeds Kedwalla in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 147. He marches into Kent to demand satisfaction for the burning of Mollo, *ib.* Is pacified by Victred with a sum of money, and the delivering-up of the accessories, *ib.* Vanquishes Gerent, king of Wales, p. 149. Slays Kenwulf and Albright, and vanquishes the East-Angles, p. 150. Ends his days at Rome, *ib.*  
 Inniaunus deposed for his ill-courses, p. 23.  
 Joseph of Arimathæa said to have first preached the christian faith in this island, p. 66.  
 Jovinus sent deputy into this island by the emperor, Valentinian, p. 76.  
 Iric, a Dane, made Earl of Northumberland, by Canute, in place of Uthred, slain, p. 226, 232. He is said by some to have made war against Malcolm, king of Scots, *ib.* His greatness suspected by Canute; he is banished the realm, p. 233.  
 Julius Agricola, the emperor's lieutenant in Britain, almost extirpates the Ordovices, p. 58. Finishes the conquest of the isle of Mona, *ib.* His justice and prudence in government, *ib.* He brings the Britains to civility, arts, and an imitation



imitation of the Roman fashions, p. 59. He receives triumphal honours from Titus, *ib.* He extends his conquests to Scotland, subdues the Orcades and other Scotch islands, p. 60. He is hard put to it in several conflicts, but comes off victorious, p. 62, 63. He is commanded home by Domitian, p. 64.

Julius Cæsar hath intelligence that the Britains are aiding to his enemies the Gauls, p. 28. He sends Caius Volusenus to make discovery of the nature of the people, and strength of the country, p. 29. After him Comius of Arras, to to make a party among the Britains, *ib.* The stout resistance he meets with from them at his landing, p. 30, 31. He receives terms of peace from them, *ib.* He loses a great part of his fleet, p. 32. Defeats the Britains, and brings them a-new to terms of peace, and sets sail for Belgia, p. 34. The year following he lands his army again, p. 35. He hath a very sharp dispute with the Britains near the Stower, in Kent, *ib.* He receives terms of peace from the Trinobantes, p. 38. He brings Cassibelan to terms, p. 39. He leaves the island, *ib.* Offers to Venus, the patroness of his family, a corselet of British pearl, *ib.*

Julius Frontinus, the emperor's lieutenant in Britain, tames the Silures, a war-like people, p. 57.

Julius Severus governs Britain under Adrian, the emperor, p. 68.

# K.

Kearl surrenders the kingdom of Mercia to his kinsman, Penda, p. 133.

Keaulin succeeds his father Kenric in the kingdom of the West Saxons, p. 113. He, and his son, Cuthin, slay three British kings at Deorham, p. 118. Gives the Britains a very great rout at Fethanleage, *ib.* Is totally routed by the Britains at Wodensbeorth, and chased out of his kingdom, dies in poverty, p. 119.

Kendwalla, or Kadwallon, a British king, joining with Penda the Mercian, slays Edwin in battle, p. 134.

Kedwalla, a West-Saxon prince, returned from banishment, slays in fight Edelwalk, the South-Saxon, and after that, Edric his successor, p. 145. Going to the isle of Wight, he devotes the fourth part thereof to holy uses, *ib.* The Sons of Arwald, king of that isle, slain by his order, *ib.* He harasses the country of the South-Saxons, *ib.* Is repelled by the Kentish men, *ib.* Yet revenges the death of his brother Mollo, p. 146. Going to Rome to be baptized, he dies there about five weeks after his baptism, p. 147.

Kelred, the son of Ethelred, succeeds Kenred in the Mercian kingdom, p. 148. Possessed with an evil spirit, he dies in despair, p. 149.

Kelwulf reigns king of the West-Saxons after Keola, p. 123.  
He

- He makes war upon the South-Saxons, p. 127. Dying, leaves the kingdom to his brother's sons, *ib.*
- Kenwulf, adopted by Osric the Northumbrian, to be his successor in the kingdom, p. 152. He becomes a monk in Lindisfarne, p. 152.
- Kened, king of the Scots, does high honour to king Edgar, p. 205. Receives great favours from him, *ib.* Is challenged by him upon some words let fall, but soon pacifies him, *ib.*
- Kenelm, succeeding a child in the kingdom of Mercia, after Kenulf, is murdered by order of his sister Quendrid, p. 163.
- Kenred, the son of Wulfer, succeeds Ethelred in the Mercian kingdom, p. 147. Having reigned a while, he goes to Rome, and is there shorn a monk, *ib.* Another Kenred succeeds in the kingdom of Northumberland, p. 148.
- Kenric, the son of Kerdic, overthrows the Britains that oppose him, p. 106. Kills and puts to flight many of the Britains at Searesbirig, now Salisbury, p. 113. Afterwards at Beranvirig, now Banbury, *ib.*
- Kentwin, a West-Saxon king, chases the Welsh-Britains to the sea-shore, p. 144.
- Kenulf hath the kingdom of Mercia bequeathed him by Eoferth, p. 159. He leaves behind him the praise of a virtuous reign, p. 163.
- Kenwalk succeeds his father Kinegils in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 137. His successes variously delivered, p. 139. He is said to have discomfited the Britains at Pen, in Somersetshire, p. 141. And giving battle to Wulfer, to have taken him prisoner, p. 142. Dying, leaves the government to Sexburga his wife, p. 143.
- Kenwulf, entituled Clito, slain by Ina the West-Saxon, p. 149.
- Kenwulf, king of the West-Saxons, see Kinwulf.
- Keola, the son of Cuthulf, succeeds his uncle Keaulin in the West-Saxon kingdom, p. 118.
- Keolwulf, the brother of Kenulf, the Mercian, after two years reign, driven out by Bernulf, a usurper, p. 163.
- Keorle, with the forces of Devonshire, overthrows the Danes at Wigganbeorch, p. 169.
- Kerdic, a Saxon prince, lands at Kerdicshore, and overthrows the Britains, p. 106. Defeats their king, Natanled, in a memorable battle, *ib.* Found the kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 108. He overthrows the Britains again, twice, at Kerdic's Ford, and at Kerdic's League, *ib.*
- Kimarus reckoned among the ancient British kings, p. 21.
- Kinegils and Cuichelm succeed Kelwulf in the kingdom of the West-Saxons, p. 127. They make truce with Penda the Mercian, p. 134. They are converted to the Christian faith, p. 136. Kinegils dying, leaves his son Keuwalk to succeed, p. 137.
- Kinmarcus succeeds Sisillius in the kingdom, p. 18.
- Kidwulf,

- Kinwulf, or Kenwulf (Sigebert being thrown out, and slain by a swine-herd), is saluted king of the West-Saxons, p. 154. Behaves himself valourously in several battles against the Welsh, p. 155. Put to the worst at Besington by Offa the Mercian, *ib.* Is routed and slain in battle, by Kineard, whom he had commanded into banishment, p. 156.
- Kymbeline, or Cunobeline, the successor of Tenuantius, said to be brought up in the court of Augustus, p. 42. His chief seat Camalodunum, or Maldon, *ib.*

## L.

- Learning and arts, when began to flourish among the Saxons, p. 143.
- Leil, succeeds Brute Greensheild, and builds Caerleil, p. 14.
- Leofric, duke of Mercia, and Siward, of Northumberland, sent by Hardeknute against the people of Worcester, p. 240. By their counsel, king Edward seizes on the treasures of his mother queen Emma, p. 242. They raise forces for the king against earl Godwin, p. 246. Leofric's death, p. 252.
- Leofwin, son of earl Godwin, after his father's banishment, goes over with his brother Harold into Ireland, p. 247. He and Harold assist their father with a fleet against king Edward, p. 248. He is slain with his brothers, Harold and Gyrtha, in the battle against William, duke of Normandy, p. 305.
- Linceus, delivered in fabulous story to be the husband of one of the feigned fifty daughters of Dioclesian, king of Syria, p. 4. The only man saved by his wife, when all the rest of the fifty slew their husbands, *ib.*
- Locrin, the eldest son of Brutus, hath the middle part of this island called Leogria, for his share in the kingdom, p. 12.
- Lollius Urbicus draws a wall of turfs between the frith of Dunbritton and Edinburgh, p. 65.
- London, with a great multitude of her inhabitants, by a sudden fire, consumed, p. 160.
- Lothair succeeds his brother Ecbert in the kingdom of Kent, 143.
- Lucius, a king in some part of Britain, thought the first of any king in Europe who received the Christian faith, p. 65. Is made the second by descent from Marius, *ib.* After a long reign, buried at Gloucester, p. 67.
- Lud, walls about Trinovant, and calls it Caer Lud, or Lud's Town, p. 24.
- Ludiken, the Mercian, going to avenge Bernulf, is surprised by the East-Angles, and put to the sword, p. 164.
- Lupicinus sent over deputy into this island by Julian the emperor, but soon recalled, p. 76.
- Lupus, bishop of Troyes, assistant to Germanus of Auxerre, in the Reformation of the British church, p. 93.

## M.

- Madan succeeds his father Loclin in the kingdom, p. 13.
- Maglaunus, duke of Albania, marries Gonorill, eldest daughter of king Leir, p. 16.
- Magoclune, surnamed the Island Dragon, one of the five that reigned toward the beginning of the Saxon heptarchy, p. 117.
- Magus, the son and successor of Samoths, whom some fable to have been the first peopler of this island, p. 3.
- Malcolm, son of Kened, king of Scots, falling into Northumberland with his whole power, utterly overthrown by Uthred, p. 227. Some say by Eric, p. 232.
- Malcolm, son of the Cumbrian king, made king of Scotland by Siward, in the room of Maebeth, p. 250.
- Malcolm, king of Scotland, coming to visit king Edward, swears brotherhood with Tosti the Northumbrian, p. 252. Afterwards in his absence harasses Northumberland, *ib.*
- Mandubratius, son of Immanuentius, favoured by the Trinobantes against Cassibelan, p. 38.
- Marganus, the son of Gonorill, deposeth his aunt Cordelia, p. 18. Shares the kingdom with his cousin Cunedagius, invades him, but is met and overcome by him, *ib.*
- Marganus, the son of Archigalla, a good king, p. 23.
- Marius, the son of Arviragus, is said to have overcome the Picts, and slain their king, Roderic, p. 66.
- Martia, the wife of king Guitheline, said to have instituted the law called Marchen Leage, p. 21.
- Martinus, made deputy of the British province, failing to kill Paulus, falls upon his own sword, p. 75.
- Maximianus Herculeus forced to conclude a peace with Caransius, and yield him Britain, p. 72.
- Maximus, a Spaniard usurping part of the empire, is overcome at length, and slain by Theodosius, p. 78. Maximus, a friend of Gerontius, is by him set up in Spain against Constantine, the usurper, p. 80.
- Mempricius, one of Brutus's council persuades him to hasten out of Greece, p. 9.
- Mempricius and Malim succeed their father Madan in the kingdom, p. 13. Mempricius, treacherously slaying his brother, gets sole possession of the kingdom, reigns tyrannically, and is at last devoured by wolves, *ib.*
- Mellitus, Justus, and others, sent with Austin to the conversion of the Saxons, p. 123. He converts the East-Saxons, p. 125. St. Paul's church in London built for his cathedral; by Ethelred, as that of Rochester for Justus, *ib.*
- Mollo, the brother of Kedwalla, pursued, beset, and burnt

- in a house whither he had fled for shelter, p. 146. His death revenged by his brother, *ib.*
- Morcar, the Son of Algar, made earl of Northumberland in the room of Tosti, p. 254. He and Edwin, duke of the Mercians, put Tosti to flight, p. 300. They give battle to Harold Harfager, king of Norway; but are put to the worst, p. 302. They refuse to set up Edgar, and at length are brought to swear fidelity to duke William of Normandy, p. 305.
- Mordred, Arthur's nephew, said to have given him in a battle his death wound, p. 116.
- Morindus, the son of Elanius, by Tanguetela, a valiant man, but infinitely cruel, p. 21.
- Mulmutius, see Dunwallo.

## O.

- Octa and Ebissa called over by Hengist their uncle, p. 100. They possess themselves of that part of the isle which is now Northumberland, *ib.*
- Oenus, one in the catalogue of ancient British kings, p. 23.
- Oeric, or Oisc, succeeds his father Hengist in the kingdom of Kent, and from him the Kentish kings called Oiscings, p. 106. He is otherwise called Esca, p. 113.
- Offa, the son of Siger, quits his kingdom of the East-Saxons to go to Rome, and turn monk with Kenred, p. 148, 149, 152.
- Offa defeating and slaying Beornred the Usurper, becomes king of Mercia after Ethelbald, p. 154. He subdues a neighbouring people called Hestings, p. 155. Gets the victory of Alric, king of Kent, at Occanford, *ib.* Inviting Ethelbright, king of the East-Angles to his palace, he there treacherously causeth him to be beheaded, and seizes his kingdom, p. 158. His first enmity, afterwards league with Charles the Great, p. 159. He grants a perpetual tribute to the Pope, out of every house in his kingdom, *ib.* He draws a trench of wondrous length between Mercia and the British confines, his death, *ib.*
- Osbal, a nobleman, exalted to the throne of the Northumbrians after Ethelred, p. 159.
- Osbert reigns in Northumberland, after the last of the Ethelreds, in the time of the Danish invasion, p. 169.
- Osbert and Ella helping the Picts against Donaldus, king of Scotland, put the Scots to flight at Sterlin-bridge, with great slaughter, and take the king prisoner, p. 171.
- Osfrid and Eanfrid, the sons of Edwin, converted and baptized, p. 133. Osfrid slain, together with his father, in a battle against Kedwalla, p. 134.



- Oslac and Cnebba, two Saxon earls, slain by Keaulin at Wibbandun, p. 113.
- Osmund, king of the South-Saxons, p. 154.
- Osred, a child, succeeds Aldfrid in the Northumbrian kingdom, p. 148. He is slain by his kindred for his vicious life, p. 149.
- Osred, the son of Alcred, advanced to the kingdom of Northumberland after Elswald, is soon driven out again, p. 157. Is taken, and forcibly shaven a monk at York, p. 158.
- Osric, the son of Elfric, baptized by Paulinus, succeeds in the kingdom of Bernicia, p. 135. Turns apostate, and is slain by an eruption of Kedwalla, out of a besieged town, ib. another Osric succeeds Kenred the Second, p. 149.
- Osric, earl of Southampton, and Ethelwolf of Berkshire, beat the Danes back to their ships, p. 173.
- Ostorius sent vice-prætor into Britain in the room of Plautius the prætor, p. 46. Routs the Britains, and improves his victory to the best advantage, ib. Gives the government of several cities to Cogidunus, a British king's ally, p. 47. Defeats the Silures under the leading of Caractacus, ib.
- Ostrid, the wife of Ethelred, killed by her own nobles, p. 148.
- Oswald, brother of Eanfrid, living exiled in Scotland, is there baptized, p. 135. With a small army, utterly overthrows Kedwalla, ib. Settles religion, and very much enlarges his dominions, p. 135, 136. Overcome, and slain in battle by Penda at Maserfeild, now Oswestre, p. 137. Oswi succeeds his brother Oswald in the kingdom, ib. He persuades Sigebert to receive the Christian faith, p. 139. He discomfits Penda's vast army, p. 146. He subdues all Mercia, and the greatest part of the Pictish nation, p. 141. Shaken off by the Persian nobles, and Wulfer set up in his stead, ib. His death, p. 143.
- Oswin, the nephew of Edwin, shares with Oswi in the kingdom of Northumberland, p. 138. Coming to arms with him, he is over-matched, and slain by his command, ib.
- Oswulf hath the crown of Northumberland relinquished to him by Eadbert, p. 155. Slain by his own servants, ib.
- Otha succeeds Esca in the kingdom of Kent, p. 113.
- Otter and Roald, two Danish leaders, landing in Devonshire, their whole forces are scattered, and Roald slain, p. 189.

## P.

- Pandrasus, a Grecian king, keeps the Trojans in servitude, p. 6, 7. Is set upon, and beaten by Brutus, p. 7, 8.
- Paulinus sent spiritual guardian with Edelburga, endeavours to convert Northumberland to Christianity, p. 130. The manner of his winning king Edwin to embrace the Christian religion, p. 131, 132. He converts the province of Lindsey

- sey and Blecca, the Governor of Lincoln, and builds a church in that city, p. 133.
- Peada, the son of Penda, and prince of the Middle-Angles, is baptized with all his followers, p. 138. He hath South-Mercia conferred on him by Oswi, p. 141. Is slain by the treachery of his wife on Easter-day, *ib.*
- Pelagius, a Britain, brings new opinions into the church, p. 79. The Pelagian doctrine refuted by Germanus, p. 93. The Pelagians are judged to banishment by Germanus, p. 96.
- Penda, the son of Wibba, king of Mercia, hath the kingdom surrendered him by Kearle, p. 133, 134. He joins with Kedwalla against Edwin, *ib.* He slays Oswald in battle, p. 137. In another battle Sigebert, *ib.* In another, Anna, king of the East-Angles, p. 139. He is slain in a battle against Oswi, p. 141.
- Penussel reckoned in the number of ancient British kings, p. 24.
- Peredure and Vigenius expel their brother Elidure, and share the kingdom between them, p. 23.
- Perjury, an example of divine vengeance in Alfred, who conspired against king Athelstane, p. 194.
- Petilius Cerealis, utterly defeated by the Britains, p. 53. He commands the Roman army in Britain, p. 57.
- Petronius Turpilianus, commands in chief in Britain, after Suetonius Paulinus, p. 56.
- Pir, one of the ancientest race of British kings, p. 24.
- Picts and Scots harrass the South coasts of Britain, p. 76, &c. See Scots.
- Picts and Saxons beaten by the Britains, through the pious conduct of Germanus, p. 93.
- Porrex, the son of Gorbogudo, though assisted from France, is slain by his brother Ferrex, p. 18. His death revenged by his mother Videna, *ib.* Another of that name reckoned in the catalogue of British kings, p. 23.
- Portsmouth denominated from the landing of Porta, a Saxon prince, with his two sons Bida and Meglo, p. 106.
- Prasutagus, king of the Icenians, leaving Cæsar coheir with his daughters, causeth the Britains to revolt, p. 52.
- Priscus Licinius, lieutenant in this isle under Adrian, p. 65.
- Probus subdues the usurper Bonosus, who falls in the battle, p. 71. Prevents by his wisdom new risings in Britain, *ib.*

## R.

- Readwulf, succeeding Ethelred in Northumbria, soon after his coronation, cut off with his whole army by the Danes at Alvetheh, p. 169.
- Rederchius, reckoned among the ancient British kings, p. 24.
- Redion

- Redion, another British king, *ib.*  
 Redwald, king of the East-Angles, wars against Ethelfrid, in defence of Edwin, and slays him in a battle, p. 129.  
 Regin, son of Gorbonian, a good king, p. 23.  
 Rivallo succeeds his father Cunedagius, p. 18.  
 Rollo, the Dane or Norman, having fought unsuccessfully here, turns his forces into France, and conquers the country since called Normandy, p. 184.  
 Romans land in Britain, under the conduct of Julius Cæsar, p. 30, 31. Their sharp conflict with the Britains near the Stoure in Kent, p. 35. The cruel massacre of the Britains upon them, p. 53. They leave the island to succour their declining affairs in other parts, p. 78. They come and aid the Britains against the Scots and Picts, p. 90. They help them to build a new wall, p. 91. Instruct them in war, and take their last farewell, *ib.*  
 Romanus, named among the four sons of Histon, sprung of Japhet, and from him the Romans fabled to be derived, p. 4.  
 Rowen, the daughter of Hengist, sent for over by her father, p. 100. She presents king Vortigern with a bowl of wine by her father's command, *ib.* She is upon the king's demand given him in marriage, *ib.*  
 Rudaneus, king of Cambria, subdued in fight, and slain by Dunwallo Mulmutius, p. 18.  
 Rudbuddibras succeeds his father Leil, and founds Caerkeint, or Canterbury, with several other places, p. 14.  
 Runno, the son of Peredûre, not immediate successor, p. 23.

## S.

- Sabra thrown into the river (thence called Sabrina), with her mother Estrildis, by Guendolen, p. 13.  
 Samothès, the first king that history or fable mentions to have peopled this island, p. 3.  
 Samulius recorded among the ancient British kings, p. 24.  
 Saron, the second king, named among the successors of Samothès, p. 3.  
 Saxons harass the south coast of Britain, slay Nectaridius and Bulcobandes, p. 76. Saxons and Picts, see Picts.  
 Saxons invited into Britain by Vottigern, and the Britains against the Scots and Picts, p. 98. Their original, p. 99. They arrive under the leading of Hengist and Horsa, *ib.* They beat the Scots and Picts near Stamford, p. 100. Fresh forces sent them over, and their bounds enlarged, *ib.* They making league with the Scots and Picts, waste the land without resistance, p. 101. Beaten by Guortimer in four battles, and driven into Thanet, p. 102. They return most of them into their own country, p. 104. The rest notably defeated by Ambrosius Aurelianus, and the Britains, *ib.*

- Scots, Picts, and Attacots, harass the south coast of Britain, p. 76. Overcome by Maximus, p. 78. Scots possess Ireland first, and named it Scotia, p. 79. Scots and Picts beaten by the Romans, sent to the supply of the Britains, p. 90. They make spoil and havock with little or no opposition, p. 92.
- Sebbi having reigned over the East-Saxons thirty years, takes on him the habit of a monk, p. 143.
- Sebert, the son of Sleda, reigns over the East-Saxons by permission of Ethelbert, p. 125.
- Ségonax, one of the four petty kings in Britain, that assaulted Cæsar's camp, p. 39.
- Sejus Saturninus commands the Roman navy in Britain, p. 65.
- Selred, the son of Sigebert the Good, succeeds Offa in the East-Saxon kingdom, and comes to a violent end, p. 153.
- Septimius Severus, the Roman emperor, arrives in person with an army in this island, p. 68. His ill success against the Caledonians, p. 69. Nevertheless goes on and brings them to terms of peace, *ib.* Builds a wall across the island, from sea to sea, *ib.* They taking arms again, he sends his son Antoninus against them, p. 70. He dies at York, it is thought, *ib.*
- Severus sent over deputy into this island by the emperor Valentinian, p. 76.
- Sexburga, the wife of Kenwalk, driven out by the nobles, disdaining female government, p. 143.
- Sexted and Seward re-establish heathenism in East-Saxony, after the death of their father Sebert, p. 128. In a fight against the Britains, they perish with their whole army, *ib.*
- Sigeard and Senfred succeed their father Sebbi in the East-Saxon kingdom, p. 152.
- Sigebert succeeds his brother Eorpwald in the kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 136. He founds a school or college, and betakes himself to a monastical life, p. 137. Being forced into the field against Penda, he is slain with his kinsman Egrie, *ib.*
- Sigebert, surnamed the small, succeeds his father Seward king of the East-Saxons, p. 139. His successor Sigebert the Second, is persuaded by Oswi to embrace Christianity, *ib.* Is murdered by the conspiracy of two brethren, *ib.* His death denounced by the bishop for eating with an excommunicate person, p. 140. Sigebert, the kinsman of Cuthred, succeeds him in the West-Saxon kingdom, p. 153.
- Siger, the son of Sigebert the small, and Sebbi, the son of Seward, succeed in the government of the East-Saxons after Swithelm's decease, p. 142.
- Silures, a people of Britain, choose Caractacus for their leader against the Romans, p. 47. They continue the war after

- after Caractacus was taken, against Ostorius and others, p. 49, 50.
- Simon Zelotes, by some said to have preached the Christian faith in this island, p. 66.
- Sisilius succeeds Jago, p. 18.
- Sisilius, the son of Guitheline, succeeds his mother Martia, p. 21. Another of that name reckoned in the number of the ancient British kings, p. 23.
- Siward, earl of Northumberland, sent by Hardecnute, together with Leofric, against the people of Worcester, p. 240. He and Leofric raise forces for king Edward against earl Godwin, p. 246. He makes an expedition into Scotland, vanquishes Macbeth, and placeth in his stead Malcolm, son of the Cumbrian king, p. 250. He dies at York in an armed posture, p. 251.
- Sleda erects the kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 108.
- South-Saxon kingdom, by whom erected, p. 106. South-Saxons, upon what occasion converted to the Christian faith, p. 144.
- Staterius, king of Albany, is defeated and slain in fight by Dunwallo Mulmutius, p. 18.
- Stilicho represses the invading Scots and Picts, p. 78.
- Stuff and Withgar, the nephews of Kerdic, bring him new levies, p. 107. They inherit what he won in the Isle of Wight, p. 111.
- Suetonius Paulinus, lieutenant in Britain, attacks the Isle of Mona or Anglesey, p. 51.
- Suidhelm succeeds Sigebert in the kingdom of the East-Saxons, p. 141. He is baptized by Kedda, ib.
- Swane, in revenge of his sister's death, makes great devastations in the west of England, p. 217. He carries all before him as far as London, but is there repelled, p. 223. Is stiled king of England, ib. He sickens and dies, p. 224.
- Swane, the son of earl Godwin, treacherously murders his kinsman, Beorn, p. 243. His peace wrought with the king by Aldred, bishop of Worcester, p. 244. Touched in conscience for the slaughter of Beorn, he goes barefoot to Rome, and returning home, dies in Lycia, p. 249.
- Swithred, the last king of the East-Saxon kingdom, driven-out by Ecbert, the West-Saxon, p. 153. 164.

T.

- Taximagulus, a petty king anciently in Britain, one of the four kings that assaulted Cæsar's camp, p. 39.
- Tenuantius, one of the sons of Lud, hath Cornwall allotted to him, p. 24. Made king after the death of Cassibelan, p. 42.
- Tendric, a war-like king of Britain, said to have exchanged his



- his crown for a hermitage, p. 119. To have taken up arms again in aid of his son Mouric, ib.
- Theobale, the brother of king Ethelfrid, slain at Degiastan, p. 124.
- Theodore, a monk of Tarsus, ordained bishop of Canterbury by P. Vitalian, p. 142. By his means the liberal arts, and the Greek and Latin tongues, flourish among the Saxons, ib.
- Theodosius, sent over the emperor Valentinian, enters by London victoriously, p. 76. Sends for Civilis and Dulcitus, p. 77. Punishes Valentinus, a Pannonian, conspiring against him, ib. He returns with applause to Valentinian, ib.
- Theodosius, the son of the former, preferred to the empire, p. 78. Overcomes and slays Maximus, usurping the empire, ib.
- Thurfert and divers other Danish lords submit to king Edward the elder, p. 119.
- Titulus, succeeds his father, Uffa, in the kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 108.
- Togodumnus, the second son of Cunobeline, succeeds in the kingdom, p. 43. Is overthrown by Aulus Plautius, p. 44. Slain in battle, ib.
- Tosti, the son of Godwin, made earl of Northumberland in the room of Siward, p. 251. He swears brotherhood with Malcolm, king of Scotland, p. 252. Goes to Rome with Aldred, bishop of York, ib. The Northumbrians rise against him and expel him, 253. A story of great outrage and cruelty committed by him at Hereford, p. 254. Making war against his brother king Harold, he is driven out of the country by Edwin and Morcar, p. 258. Joining with Harold Harfager, king of Norway, against his brother, he is slain, together with Harfager, in battle, p. 302.
- Trebellius Maximus sent into Britain in the room of Patronius Turpilianus, p. 56.
- Trinobantes fall off from Cassibelan, and submit to Cæsar, and recommend Mandubratius to his protection, p. 38.
- Turkil, a Danish earl, assaults Canterbury, but is bought off, p. 219, 220. He swears allegiance to king Ethelred, that under that pretence he might stay and give intelligence to Swane, p. 222. He leaves the English again, and joins with Canute, p. 225. His greatness suspected by Canute, he is banished the realm, p. 233.
- Turquetill, a Danish leader, submitting to king Edward, obtains leave of him to go and try his fortune in France, p. 190.

## V.

- Valentinian, the emperor, sends over several deputies successively into this island, p. 76.
- Vecius Bolanus sent into Britain in the room of Trebellius Maximus, p. 57. Vellocatus,

- Velloctatus, see Venutius and Cartismandua.
- Venutius, a king of the Brigantes, deserted, by his wife, Cartismandua, who marries his squire, Velloctatus, p. 50. He fights himself against her by arms, ib. Makes war successfully against those taking part with his wife, ib.
- Verannius succeeds A. Didius in the British wars, p. 51.
- Virtue ever highly rewarded by the ancient Romans, p. 46.
- Vespasian, valiantly fighting under Plautius against the Britains, is rescued from danger by his son Titus, p. 46. For his eminent services here he receives triumphal ornaments at Rome, ib.
- Uffa erects the kingdom of the East-Angles, p. 107. From him his successors called Uffings, ib.
- Victorinus, a Moor, appeaseth a commotion in Britain, by slaying a governor of his own recommending, p. 71.
- Victorinus, of Tolosa, made prefect of this island, p. 79.
- Vietred, the son of Ecberts, obtaining the kingdom of Kent, settles all things in peace, p. 146. After thirty-four years reign he deceaseth, p. 149.
- Videna slays her son Ferrex in revenge of her other son, Porrex, p. 18.
- Vigenius and Piredure, expelling their brother Elidure, share the kingdom between them, p. 23.
- Virius Lupus hath the north part of the government assigned him by Severus, the emperor, p. 68.
- Ulfketel, duke of the East-Angles, sets upon the Danes with great valour, p. 217, 218. His army defeated through the subtlety of a Danish servant, p. 220, 221. He is slain with several other dukes, at the fatal battle of Assandune, p. 229.
- Ulpus Marcellus, sent lieutenant into Britain by Commodus, ends the war by his valour and prudence, p. 67.
- Vortipor reigns in Demetia, or South-Wales, p. 116.
- Vortigern's character, p. 97. He is advised by his council to invite in the Saxons against the Scots and Picts, ib. He bestows upon Hengist and the Saxons, the Isle of Thanet, p. 99. Then all Kent, upon a marriage with Rowen Hengist's daughter, p. 100. Condemned in a Synod for incest with his daughter, he retires to a castle in Radnorshire, built for the purpose, p. 102. His son Guertimer dead, he resumes the government, p. 103. Is drawn into a snare by Hengist, p. 104. Retiring again, is burnt in his tower, ib.
- Urianus reckoned in the number of ancient British kings, p. 23.
- Utherpendragon thought to be the same with Natanleod, p. 107.
- Uthred submits himself with the Northumbrians to Swane, p. 223. To Canute, p. 226. His victory over Malcolm, king of Scots, p. 227. He is slain by Turebrand, a Danish lord, at Canute's either command or connivance, p. 226.

## W.

West-Saxon kingdom, by whom erected, p. 107. West-Saxons and their kings converted to the Christian faith by Berinus, p. 186.

Wibba succeeds Crida in the Mercian kingdom, p. 119.

Wilbrod, a priest, goes over with 12 others, to preach the gospel in Germany, p. 147, 148. He is countenanced by Pepin, chief regent of the Franks, and made first bishop of that nation, *ib.*

Wilfrid, bishop of the Northumbrians, deprived by Eadfrid of his bishoprick, wanders as far as Rome, p. 144. Returning, plants the gospel in the Isle of Wight, and other places assigned him, *ib.* Hath the fourth part of that island given him by Kedwalla, he bestows it on Bertwin, a priest, his sister's son, p. 145.

William, duke of Normandy, honourably entertained by king Edward, and richly dismissed, p. 247. He betroths his daughter to Harold, and receives his oath to assist him to the crown of England, p. 254. Sending, after king Edward's death, to demand performance of his promise, is put off with a slight answer, p. 258, 259. He lands with an army at Hastings, p. 260. Overthrows Harold, who with his two brothers is slain in battle, p. 262. He is crowned at Westminster by Aldred, archbishop of York, 263.

Wipped, a Saxon earl, slain at a place called Wippeds-fleet, which thence took denomination, p. 103.

Withgar, see Stuff.

Withgarburgh, in the Isle of Wight, so called from being the burial-place of Withgar.

Withlaf, the successor of Ludiken, being vanquished by Ecbert, all Mercia becomes tributary to him, p. 164.

Wulfer, the son of Penda, set up by the Mercian nobles in the room of his brother Oswi, p. 114. Said to have been taken prisoner by Kenwalk, the West-Saxon, p. 141, 142.

He takes and wastes the Isle of Wight, but caused the inhabitants to be baptized, *ib.* Gives the island to Ethelwald, king of South-Saxons, *ib.* Sends Jeruvianus to recover the East-Saxons, fallen-off the second time from christianity, *ib.* Lindsey taken from him by Eadfrid of Northumberland, p. 143. His death accompanied with the stain of Simonie, *ib.*

Wulfheard, king Ethelwolf's chief captain, drives back the Danes, at Southampton, with great slaughter, p. 168. He dies the same year, as it is thought, of age, *ib.*

Wulktul, earl of Ely, put to flight with his whole army by the Danes, 175.

## Y.

Ymner, king of Loegria, with others slain in battle by Dunwallo Maelmutius, p. 18.

THE  
*T E N U R E*  
OF  
KINGS AND MAGISTRATES:

PROVING,

*That it is lawful, and hath been held so through all  
Ages, for any, who have the Power,  
to call to Account*

A TYRANT, OR WICKED KING,

And, after due Conviction,

*To depose, and put him to Death, if the Ordinary  
MAGISTRATE have neglected, or denied, to do it.*

And that they, who of late so much blamed Deposing,

*Are the Men that did it themselves.\**

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\* This Tract, which was first published in February 1648-9, after the execution of King Charles, and is a defence of that action against the objections of the Presbyterians; was in the year 1650, republished by the author with considerable additions, all which, omitted in every former edition of the author's works, are here carefully inserted in their proper places. The copy which I use, after the above title, has the following sentence; "Published now the second time with some additions, and many testimonies also added out of the best and learnedest among protestant divines, asserting the position of this book." The passages here restored, are marked with inverted commas.





THE TENURE  
OF  
KINGS, AND MAGISTRATES.

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IF Men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally give-up their understanding to a double tyranny, of custom from without, and blind affections from within; they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vitious rule, by which they govern themselves. For, indeed, none can love freedom heartily, but good men: the rest love not freedom, but licence; which never hath more scope, or more indulgence, than under tyrants. Hence is it that tyrants are not oft offended, nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile; but in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, them they fear in earnest, as by right their masters; against them lies all their hatred and suspicion. Consequently neither do bad men hate tyrants, but have been always readiest, with the falsified names of Loyalty and Obedience, to colour-over their base compliances. And, although sometimes, for shame, and when it comes to their own grievances, of purse especially, they would seem good patriots, and side with the better cause, yet, when others, for the deliverance of their country, (endued with fortitude and heroic virtue, to fear nothing but the curse written against those, "that do the work of the Lord negligently,") \* would go-on to remove, not only the calamities and thralldom of a people, but the roots and

\* Jer. xlviii. 1,

Of the different classes of men who, after having resisted king Charles by arms, made a scruple of bringing him to punishment.

causes whence they spring; strait these men, and sure helpers in need, as if they hated only the miseries, but not the mischiefs,—after they have juggled and paltered with the world, bandied and born arms against their king, divested him, disanointed him; nay, cursed him all-over in their pulpits, and their pamphlets, to the engaging of sincere and real men, beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from,—not only turn revolvers from those principles, which only could at first move them, but lay the stain of disloyalty, and worse, on those proceedings, which are the necessary consequences of their own former actions; nor disliked by themselves, were they managed to the entire advantages of their own faction; not considering the while that he toward whom they boasted their new fidelity, counted them accessary; and by those statutes and laws which they so impotently brandish against others, would have doomed them to a traitor's death for what they have done already. 'Tis true, that most men are apt enough to civil wars and commotions as a novelty, and for a flash hot and active; but, through sloth or inconstancy, and weakness of spirit, either fainting ere their own pretences, though never so just, be half attained, or through an inbred falsehood and wickedness, betray oft-times to destruction with themselves, men of noblest temper joined with them for causes, whereof they in their rash undertakings, were not capable. If God and a good cause give them victory, the prosecution whereof for the most part, inevitably draws after it the alteration of laws, change of government, downfall of princes with their families; then comes the task to those worthies which are the soul of that enterprize, to be sweat and laboured out amidst the throng and noses of vulgar and irrational men. Some contesting for privileges, customs, forms, and that old entanglement of iniquity, their gibberish laws, though the badge of their ancient slavery. Others, who have been fiercest against their prince, under the notion of a tyrant, and no mean incendiaries of the war against him, yet, when God, out of his providence and high disposal, hath delivered him into the hands of their brethren, on a sudden and in a new garb of allegiance, which their doings have long

since

since cancelled; they plead for him, pity him, extol him, protest against those that talk of bringing him to the trial of justice, which is the sword of God, superior to all mortal things, in whose hand soever by apparent signs his testified will is to put it. But certainly, if we consider who and what they are, on a sudden grown so pitiful, we may conclude their pity can be no true and christian commiseration, but either levity and shallowness of mind, or else a carnal admiring of that worldly pomp and greatness, from whence they see him fallen; or rather, lastly, a dissembled and seditious pity, feigned of industry to beget new discord. As for mercy, if it be to a tyrant, (under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of Angels, and the holy church assembled, and there charged him with the spilling of more innocent blood by far, than ever Nero did,) undoubtedly the mercy which they pretend, is the mercy of wicked men, and "their mercies\*," we read, "are cruelties;" hazarding the welfare of a whole nation, to have saved one whom they so oft have termed Agag, and vilifying the blood of many Jonathans that have saved Israel; insisting with much niceness on the unnecessariety clause of their Covenant wrested, wherein the fear of change and the absurd contradiction of a flattering hostility had hampered them, but not scrupling to give-away for compliments, to an implacable revenge, the heads of many thousand christians more.

Another sort there is, who coming, in the course of these affairs, to have their share in great actions above the form of law or custom, at least to give their voice and approbation; begin to swerve and almost shiver at the majesty and grandeur of some noble deed, as if they were newly entered into a great sin; disputing precedents, forms, and circumstances, when the commonwealth nigh perishes for want of deeds in substance, done with just and faithful expedition. To these I wish better instruction, and virtue equal to their calling; the former of which, that is to say instruction, I shall endeavour, as my duty is, to bestow on them; and exhort

them not to startle from the just and pious resolution of adhering with all their strength and assistance to the present parliament and army, in the glorious way wherein justice and victory hath set them; (which are the only warrants through all ages, next under immediate revelation, to exercise supreme power;) in those proceedings which hitherto appear equal to what hath been done, in any age or nation heretofore, justly or magnanimously. Nor let them be discouraged or deterred by any new apostate scare-crows, who, under show of giving counsel, send out their barking monitories and mementos, empty of aught else but the spleen of a frustrated faction. For how can that pretended counsel, be either sound or faithful, when they that give it, see not, for madness and vexation of their ends lost, that those statutes and scriptures which both falsely and scandalously they wrest against their friends and associates, would, by sentence of the common adversary, fall first and heaviest upon their own heads? Neither let mild and tender dispositions be foolishly softened from their duty and perseverance with the unmasculine rhetoric of any puling priest or chaplain, sent as a friendly letter of advice, for fashion-sake in private, and forthwith published by the sender himself, that we may know how much of friend there was in it, to cast an odious envy upon them to whom it was pretended to be sent in charity. Nor let any man be deluded by either the ignorance, or the notorious hypocrisy and self-repugnance of our dancing divines, who have the conscience and the boldness to come with scripture in their mouths, glossed and fitted for their turns with a double contradictory sense, transforming the sacred verity of God to an idol with two faces, looking at once two several ways; and with the same quotations to charge others, which in the same case they made serve to justify themselves. For, while the hope to be made classic and provincial lords led them on, while pluralities greased them thick and deep, to the shame and scandal of religion, more than all the sects and heresies they exclaim against; then to fight against the king's person; and no less a party of his lords and commons, or to put force upon both the houses, was good, was lawful, was  
no

Of the inconsistent  
behaviour of the  
Presbyterian clergy.



no resisting of superior powers; they only were powers not to be resisted, who countenanced the good, and punished the evil. But now that their censorious domineering is not suffered to be universal, truth and conscience to be freed, tithes and pluralities to be no more, though competent allowance provided, and the warm experience of large gifts, and they so good at taking them; yet now to exclude and seize upon impeached members, to bring delinquents without exemption to a fair tribunal by the common national law against murder, is now to be no less than Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. He who but ere-while in the pulpits was a cursed tyrant, an enemy to God and saints, laden with all the innocent blood spilt in three kingdoms, and so to be fought-against; is now, though nothing penitent or altered from his first principle, a lawful magistrate, a sovereign Lord, the Lord's anointed, not to be touched, though by themselves imprisoned. As if this only were obedience, to preserve the mere useless bulk of his person, and that only in prison, not in the field, and to disobey his commands, deny him his dignity and office, every where to resist his power, but where they think it only surviving in their own faction.

But who in particular is a tyrant, cannot be determined in a general discourse, otherwise than by supposition; his particular charge, and the sufficient proof of it must determine that: which I leave to magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them, and of the people, though in number less by many, in whom faction least hath prevailed above the law of nature and right reason, to judge as they find cause. But this I dare own as part of my faith, that if such a one there be, by whose commission, whole massacres have been committed on his faithful subjects, his provinces offered to pawn or alienation, as the hire of those whom he had solicited to come in and destroy whole cities and countries; be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of justice is above him; in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of innocent blood. For, if all human power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil-doers, without exception, be

of



of God ; then that power, whether ordinary, or, if that fail, extraordinary, so executing that intent of God, is lawful, and not to be resisted. But to unfold more at large this whole question, though with all expedient brevity, I shall here set-down, from first beginning, the original of kings; how and wherefore they were exalted to that dignity above their brethren; and from thence shall prove, that, when they turn to tyranny, they may be as lawfully deposed and punished, as they were at first elected: this I shall do by authorities and reasons, not learnt in corners among schisms and heresies, (as our doubling divines are ready to calumniate,) but fetched out of the midst of choicest and most authentic learning, and no prohibited authors; nor many heathen; but mosaical, christian, orthodoxal, and (which must needs be more convincing to our adversaries,) presbyterial.

The origin of civil government.

No man who knows aught, can be so stupid as to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself; and were (by privilege above all the creatures,) born to command, and not to obey: and that they lived so, till, (from the root of Adam's transgression,) falling among themselves to do acts of injustice and violence, and foreseeing that such courses must needs tend to the destruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other to refrain from mutual injury, and jointly to defend themselves against any that should give disturbance, or opposition, to such agreement. Hence came Cities, Towns, and Commonwealths. And, because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw that it was necessary to ordain some authority, that might restrain by force and punishment acts of violence that were done against peace and common right. This authority and power of self-defence and preservation (which was originally and naturally vested in every individual member of each community, and unitedly in them all,) they, (for the sake of ease and good order, and lest each man should be his own partial judge;) communicated and delegated either to one man amongst them whom they chose for his eminence in wisdom and integrity above the rest, or to more than one such man, when they had more men amongst them whom they thought equally deserving of such a high trust; and they

they called a person so chosen, when they had chosen only one such Governour, their *King*, and when they had chosen more than one such Governour, they called them their *Magistrates*. But they did not mean thereby to make them their lords and masters, (though afterwards those names, in some places, were given voluntarily to such as had been authors of inestimable good to the people,) but to be their deputies and commissioners, to execute, by virtue of their intrusted power, that justice which else every man, by the bond of nature and of covenant, must have executed for himself, and for one another. And to him that shall consider well why, among free persons, one man by civil right should bear authority and jurisdiction over another, no other end, or reason, can be imaginable. These for a while governed well, and with much equity decided all things at their own arbitrement : till the temptation of such a power left absolute in their hands, perverted them at length to injustice and partiality. Then did they who now by trial had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent laws, (either framed or consented-to by all;) that should confine and limit the authority of those persons whom they chose to govern them ; that so the mere will of man, (of whose failing they had had proof,) might no more rule over them, but law and reason, abstracted, as much as might be, from personal errors and frailties. “ While, as the magistrate was set above the people, so the law was set above the magistrate\*.” When this would not serve, but that the law was either not executed, or misapplied, they were constrained from that time, (the only remedy left them,) to put conditions and take oaths from all kings and magistrates, at their first installment, to do impartial justice by law: who, upon those terms and no other received allegiance from the people, that is to say, bond or covenant to obey them in execution of those laws which they the people had themselves made or assented to. And this oft-times with express warning, that, if the king, or magistrate, proved unfaithful to his trust, the people would be disengaged from their allegiance. They added also counsellors and parliaments, who should meet together not

\* This sentence is omitted in the last edition.

only at his beck, but with him or without him, at set times, or at all times, when any danger threatened, to have care of the public safety. Therefore saith Claudius Sesell, a French statesman, "The parliament was set as a bridle to the king;" which I instance the rather "not because our English lawyers have not said the same thing long before," but \* because that French monarchy is granted by all to be a far more absolute monarchy than ours. "That this, and the rest of what hath hitherto been spoken, is most true," might be copiously made appear throughout all stories, heathen and christian; even of those nations where kings and emperors have sought means to abolish all ancient memory of the people's rights by their encroachments and usurpations. But I spare long insertions, appealing to the German, French, Italian, Arragonian, English, and, not least, the Scottish histories: not forgetting this only by the way, that William the Norman, though a conqueror, and not unsworn at his coronation, was compelled a second time to take the same oath at St. Albans, ere the people would be brought to yield obedience to him.

Aristotle's definition  
of a king.

It being thus manifest that the power of kings and magistrates is nothing else, but what is only derivative, transferred and committed to them in trust from the people, for the common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of their natural birth-right; and seeing that from hence Aristotle, and the best political writers have defined a king, to be "him who governs to the good and profit of his people, and not for his own ends;" it follows from necessary causes, that the titles of *sovereign lord*, *natural lord*, and the like, are either arrogancies, or flatteries, not admitted by emperors and kings of the best note, and disliked by the church both of Jews, (Isai. xxvi. 13.) and of ancient Christians, as appears by Tertullian and others. Although generally the people of Asia, and with them the Jews also, (especially since the time when they chose a king, against the advice and counsel of God,) are noted by wise authors to have been much inclinable to slavery.

\* This is also omitted in the last edition.

Secondly,

Secondly, that to say, as is usual, "that the king hath as good a right to his crown and dignity, as any man hath to his inheritance," is to make the subject no better than the king's slave, his chattel, or his possession, that may be bought and sold: and doubtless, if hereditary title to the crown were sufficiently inquired-into, the best foundation of it would be found to be either in courtesy or convenience. But, if we suppose it to be of right hereditary, what can be more just and legal than that, if a subject, for certain crimes, be liable by law to forfeit, from himself and his posterity, all his inheritance to the king, a king should, in like manner, for crimes proportional, be liable to forfeit all his title and inheritance to the people? Unless the people must be thought to have been created all for him, and he not for them; and they all in one body to be inferior to him single; which it were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm. N. B.

Thirdly, it follows, that to say "that kings are accountable to none but God," is the overturning of all law and government. For, if they may refuse to give account, then all covenants made with them at their coronations, all oaths taken by them on those occasions are in vain, and mere mockeries; all laws, which they swear to keep, are made to no purpose: for, if the king fear not God, (as how many of them do not?) we hold then our lives and estates by the tenure of his mere grace and mercy, as from a God, not a mortal magistrate; a position that none but court-parasites, or men besotted, would maintain! "Aristotle therefore, (whom we commonly allow for one of the best interpreters of nature, and morality,) writes in the fourth book of his politics, chap. x. that "monarchy unaccountable, is the worst sort of tyranny; and least of all to be endured by free-born men." And, surely, no christian prince, not drunk with high mind, and prouder than those pagan Cæsars that deified themselves, would arrogate so unreasonably above human condition, or derogate so basely from a whole nation of men his brethren, as if for him only subsisting, and to serve his glory, valuing them in comparison of his own brutè-will and pleasure no more than so many beasts, or vermin under his feet, not to be

\* This sentence is also entirely omitted in the last edition.



reasoned-with, but to be trod-on; among whom there might be found so many thousand men, for wisdom, virtue, nobleness of mind, and all other respects but the fortune of his dignity, far above him. Yet some would persuade us that this absurd opinion was king David's, because, in the li. Psalm, he cries out to God, "Against thee only have I sinned;" as if David had imagined that "to murder Uriah and adulterate his wife" had been no sin against his neighbour, whenas that law of Moses was to the king expressly, Deut. xvii. not to think so highly of himself above his brethren. David, therefore, by those words could mean no other, than either that the depth of his guiltiness was known to God only, or to so few as had not the will or power to question him, or that the sin against God was greater beyond compare than against Uriah. Whatever his meaning were, any wise man may see that the pathetical words of a Psalm can be no certain decision to a point that hath abundantly more certain rules to go by. How much more rationally spake the Heathen king, Demophoön, in a tragedy of Euripides, than these interpreters would put upon king David? "I rule not my people by tyranny, as if they were barbarians, but am myself liable, if I do unjustly, to suffer justly." Not unlike was the speech of Trajan, the worthy emperor, to one whom he made General of his prætorian forces: "Take this drawn sword," saith he, "to use it for me, if I reign well; if not, to use it against me." Thus Dion relates. And not Trajan only, but Theodosius the younger, a Christian emperor and one of the best, caused it to be enacted, as a rule undeniable and fit to be acknowledged by all kings and emperors, "that a prince is bound to the laws;" and on the authority of law the authority of a prince depends, and to the laws it ought to submit. Which edict of his, yet unrepealed, is set down in the Code of Justinian, l. i. tit. 24. as a sacred constitution to all the succeeding emperors. How then can any king in Europe maintain and write himself accountable to none but God, when emperors, in their own imperial statutes have written and decreed themselves accountable to law? And, indeed, where such account is not feared, he

A noble declaration  
made by the Empe-  
rour Trajan.

N.B.



he that bids a man reign over him above law, may bid as well a savage beast.

It follows, lastly, that, since the king, or magistrate, holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally for their good in the first place, and not his own; then may the people as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either chuse him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free-born men to be governed as seems to them best. This, though it cannot but stand with plain reason, shall be made good also by Scripture, Deut. xvii.

14. "When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shall say "I will set a king over me, like as all the nations about me." These words confirm us that the right of chusing, yea, of changing their own government, is, by the grant of God himself, in the people. And, therefore, when they desired a king, though then under another form of government, and though their changing displeased him, yet he, that was himself their king, and rejected by them, would not be a hindrance to what they intended, further than by persuasion, but that they might do therein as they saw good, 1 Sam. viii. only he reserved to himself the nomination of who should reign over them. Neither did that exempt the king as if he were to God only accountable, though by his especial command anointed. Therefore "David first made a covenant with the elders of Israel, and so was by them anointed king," 2 Sam. v. 3. 1 Chron. xi. And Jehoiada the priest making Jehoash king, made a covenant between him and the people, 2 Kings xi. 17. Therefore, when Rehoboam, at his coming to the crown, rejected those conditions which the Israelites brought him, hear what they answer him, "What portion have we in David, or inheritance in the son of Jesse? See to thine own house, David."

And, for the like conditions not performed, all Israel before that time deposed Samuel; not for his own default, but for the misgovernment of his sons. But some will say to both these examples, it was evilly done. I answer, that it was not the latter, because it was expressly allowed them in the law to set-up a king if they pleased;

and God himself joined with them in the work ; though in some sort it was, at that time, displeasing to him, in respect of old Samuel, who had governed them uprightly. As Livy praises the Romans, who took occasion from Tarquinius, a wicked prince, to gain their liberty, which to have extorted, saith he, from Numa, or any of the good kings before, had not been seasonable. Nor was it in the former example done unlawfully ; for when Rehoboam had prepared a huge army to reduce the Israelites, he was forbidden by the prophet, 1 Kings xii. 24. " Thus saith the Lord, ye shall not go-up, nor fight against your brethren ; for this thing is from me." He calls them their brethren, not rebels, and forbids to be proceeded against them, owning the thing himself, not by single providence, but by approbation, and that not only of the act, as in the former example, but of the fit season also ; he had not otherwise forbid to molest them. And those grave and wise counsellors whom Rehoboam first advised with, spake no such thing, as our old grey-headed flatterers now are wont, " stand upon your birth-right ; scorn to capitulate ; you hold of God, not of them ;" for they knew no such matter, unless conditionally, but gave him politic counsel, as in a civil transaction. Therefore kingdom and magistracy, whether supreme or subordinate, is called " a human ordinance," 1 Pet. ii. 13, &c. which we are there taught is the will of God we should submit to, so far as for the punishment of evil-doers, and the encouragement of those that do well. " Submit, saith he, as free men." " \* But to any civil power unaccountable, unquestionable, and not to be resisted, no not in wickedness, and violent actions, how can we submit as free men ?" " There is no power but of God," saith Paul, Rom. xiii. as much as to say, God put it into man's heart to find-out that way at first for common peace and preservation, approving the exercise thereof ; else it contradicts Peter, who calls the same authority an ordinance of man. It must be also understood of lawful and just power ; else we read of great power in the affairs and kingdoms of the world permitted to the devil : for, saith he to Christ, Luke iv.

\* This interrogation is omitted in the last edition.

6. all this power will I give thee and the glory of them, for it is delivered to me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it; neither did he lie, or Christ gainsay what he affirmed; for in the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation we read how the dragon gave to the beast his power, his seat, and great authority: which beast so authorised, most expound to be the tyrannical powers and kingdoms of the earth. Therefore St. Paul, in that forecited chapter, tells us, that such magistrates he means, as are not a terror to the good but to the evil, such as bear not the sword in vain, but to punish offenders, and to encourage the good. If such only be mentioned here as powers to be obeyed, and our submission to them only required, then, doubtless, those powers that do the contrary, are no powers ordained of God; and by consequence no obligation laid upon us to obey, or not to resist, them. And it may be well observed, that both these Apostles, whenever they give this precept, express it in terms not concrete, but abstract, as logicians are wont to speak; that is, they mention the ordinance, the power, the authority, before the persons that execute it; and what that power is, lest we should be deceived, they describe exactly. So that, if the power be not such, or the person execute not such power, neither the one nor the other is of God, but of the devil, and by consequence to be resisted. From this exposition Chrysostom also on the same place dissents not; explaining that these words were not written in behalf of a tyrant. And this is verified by David, himself a king, and likeliest to be the author of the Psalm xciv. 20. which saith, "Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee?" And it were worth the knowing, since kings in these days, and that by Scripture, boast the justness of their title, by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot show the time when God ever set on the throne them or their forefathers, but only when the people chose them; why by the same reason, since God ascribes as oft to himself the casting down of princes from the throne, & should not be thought as lawful, and as much from God, when none are seen to do it but the people, and that for just causes. For, if it needs must be a sin in them to depose,

it may as likely be a sin to have elected. And contrary, if the people's act in election be pleaded by a king, as the act of God, and the most just title to enthrone him, why may not the people's act of rejection be as well pleaded by the people as the act of God, and the most just reason to depose him? So that we see the title and just right of reigning or deposing in reference to God, is found in Scripture to be all one; visible only in the people, and depending merely upon justice and demerit. Thus far hath been considered chiefly the power of kings and magistrates; how it was, and is originally the people's, and by them conferred in trust only to be employed to the common peace and benefit; with liberty therefore and right remaining in them to re-assume it to themselves, if by kings or magistrates it be abused; or to dispose of it by any alteration, as they shall judge most conducing to the public good.

Of tyrants, and the right of the people to resist and punish them.

We may from hence with more ease, and force of argument, determine what a tyrant is, and what the people may do against him. A tyrant, whether by wrong or by right, coming to the crown, is he who, regarding neither law nor the common good, reigns only for himself and his faction: Thus St. Basil, among others, defines him. And because his power is great, his will boudless and exorbitant, the fulfilling whereof is for the most part accompanied with innumerable wrongs and oppressions of the people, murders, massacres, rapes, adulteries, desolation, and subversion of cities and whole provinces; look how great a good and happiness a just king is, so great a mischief is a tyrant; as he the public father of his country, so this the common enemy. Against whom what the people lawfully may do, as against a common pest, and destroyer of mankind, I suppose no man of clear judgment need go further to be guided than by the very principles of nature in him. But, because it is the vulgar folly of men to desert their own reason, and, shutting their eyes, to think they see best with other men's, I shall shew by such examples as ought to have most weight with us, what hath been done in this case heretofore.

The opinions of the Greeks and Romans upon this subject.

The Greeks and Romans, as their prime authors witness,



witness, held it not only lawful, but a glorious and heroic deed, rewarded publicly with statues and garlands; to kill an infamous tyrant at any time without trial: and but reason, that he who trod-down all law, should not be vouchsafed the benefit of law. Insomuch that Seneca, the tragedian, brings-in Hercules, the grand suppressor of tyrants, thus speaking;

—————*Victima laud ulla amplior  
Potest magisque opima mactari jovi  
Quam Rex iniquus*—————

—————*There can be slain  
No sacrifice to God more acceptable  
Than an unjust and wicked king*—————

But of these authors I name no more, lest it be objected that they were Heathens; and I come to produce another sort of men, that had the knowledge of true religion. Among the Jews this custom of tyrant-killing was not unusual. First, Ehud, a man whom God had raised to deliver Israel from Eglon, king of Moab, (who had conquered and ruled over them eighteen years,) being sent to him as an ambassador with a present, slew him in his own house. But he was a foreign prince, an enemy; and Ehud, besides, had a special warrant from God. To the first I answer, it imports not whether foreign or native; For no prince so native but professes to hold by law; which when he himself overturns, breaking all the covenants and oaths that gave him title to his dignity, and were the bond and alliance between him and his people, what differs he from an outlandish king or from an enemy? For look, how much right the king of Spain hath to govern us at all, so much right hath the king of England to govern us tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any league, coming from Spain in person to subdue us, or to destroy us, might lawfully by the people of England either be slain in fight, or put to death in captivity, what hath a native king to plead, bound by so many covenants, benefits and honours, to the welfare of his people; why he, through the contempt of all laws and parliaments, the only tie of our obedience to him, for his own will's sake, and a boasted prerogative unaccountable, after seven years warring and destroying of his best subjects, overcome, and yielded prisoner, should

Those of the Jews.

A short description  
of the misgovern-  
ment of king Charles  
the First.



N. B.

should think to scape unquestionable, as a thing divine, in respect of whom so many thousand christians destroyed should lie unaccounted-for, polluting with their slaughtered carcasses all the land over, and crying for vengeance against the living that should have righted them? Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man all over the world, neither is it the English sea that can sever us from that duty and relation: a streighter bond yet there is between fellow-subjects, neighbours, and friends. But, when any of these do one to another so as hostility could do no worse, what doth the law decree less against them, than open enemies and invaders? or, if the law be not present or be too weak, what doth it warrant us to less than single defence or civil war? and from that time forward the law of civil defensive war differs nothing from the law of foreign hostility. Nor is it distance of place that makes enmity, but enmity that makes distance. He, therefore, that keeps peace with me, near or remote, of whatsoever nation, is to me, as far as all civil and human offices, an Englishman and a neighbour: but, if an Englishman, forgetting all laws, human, civil, and religious, offend against life and liberty, to him offended and to the law in his behalf, though born in the same womb, he is no better than a Turk, a Saracen, a Heathen. This is gospel, and this was ever law among equals; how much rather then in force against any king whatever, who in respect of the people is confessed inferior, and not equal: to distinguish, therefore, of a tyrant by outlandish, or domestic, is a weak evasion. To the second, that he was an enemy; I answer, what tyrant is not? yet Eglon, by the Jews, had been acknowledged as their sovereign, they had served him eighteen years, (as long almost as we our William the Conqueror,) in all which time he could not be so unwise a statesman as not to have taken of them oaths of fealty and allegiance; by which they made themselves his proper subjects, as their homage and present sent by Ehud testified. To the third, that he had special warrant to kill Eglon in that manner, it cannot be granted, because not expressed; it is plain that he was raised  
by

by God to be a deliverer, and went on just principles, such as were then and ever held allowable to deal so by a tyrant that could no otherwise be dealt-with. Neither did Samuel, though a prophet, with his own hand abstain from Agag; a foreign enemy, no doubt; but mark the reason, "As thy sword hath made women childless;" a cause that, by the sentence of law itself, nullifies all relations. And, as the law is between brother and brother, father and son, master and servant, wherefore not between king, or rather tyrant, and people? And, whereas Jehu had special command to slay Jehoram, a successive and hereditary tyrant, it seems not the less imitable for that; for where a thing, grounded so much on natural reason, hath the addition of a command from God, what does it but establish the lawfulness of such an act? Nor is it likely that God, who had so many ways of punishing the house of Ahab, would have sent a subject against his prince, if the fact in itself, as done to a tyrant, had been of bad example. And, if David refused to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed, the matter between them was not tyranny, but private enmity, and David, as a private person, would have been his own revenger, not so much the people's: but when any tyrant at this day can shew himself to be the Lord's anointed, (which is the only mentioned reason why David withheld his hand,) he may then, but not till then, presume on the same privilege.

We may pass therefore hence to Christian times. And Those of Christians. first, our Saviour himself, how much he favoured tyrants, and how much he intended that they should be found or honoured among Christians, declares his mind not obscurely; accounting their absolute authority no better than Gentilism; yea, though they flourished it over with the splendid name of benefactors: charging those that would be his disciples to usurp no such dominion; but "that they who were to be of most authority among them, should esteem themselves ministers and servants to the public." Mat. xx. 25. "The princes of the gentiles exercise lordship over them," and Mark x. 42. "They that seem to rule," saith he, either slighting or accounting them no lawful rulers; "but ye shall not be so, but the greatest among you shall be your servant." And although

although he himself were the meekest, and came on earth to be so, yet to a tyrant we hear him not vouchsafe an humble word: but "Tell that fox," Luke xiii. \* "So far we ought to be from thinking that Christ and his gospel should be made a sanctuary for tyrants from justice, to whom his law before never gave such protection." And wherefore did his mother the virgin Mary give such praise to God in her prophetic song, that he had now, by the coming of Christ, cut-down Dynasta's, or proud monarchs, from the throne, if the church, when God manifests his power in them to do so, should rather choose all misery and vassalage to serve them, and let them still sit on their potent seats to be adored for doing mischief? Surely it is not for nothing that tyrants, by a kind of natural instinct, both hate and fear none more than the true church and saints of God, as the most dangerous enemies and subverters of monarchy, though indeed of tyranny; hath not this been the perpetual cry of courtiers, and court-prelates? whereof no likelier cause can be alledged, but that they well-discerned the minds and principles of most devout and zealous men, and indeed the very discipline of church, tending to the dissolution of all tyranny. No marvel then, if, since the faith of Christ received, in purer or impurer times, to depose a king and put him to death for tyranny, hath been accounted so just and requisite, that neighbour kings have both upheld and taken part with subjects in the action. And Ludovicus Pius, himself an emperor, and son of Charles the Great, being made judge (Du Haillan is my author) between Milegast, king of the Vultzes, and his subjects, who had deposed him, gave his verdict for the subjects, and for him whom they had chosen in his room. Note here, that the right of electing whom they please, is declared to be by the impartial testimony of an emperor, in the people: For, said he, "a just prince ought to be preferred before an unjust, and the end of government before the prerogative." And Constantinus Leo, another emperor, in the Byzantine laws saith, "That the end of a king is for the general good, which he not performing, is but the counterfeit of a king." And to

Examples of resistance to bad kings.

\* This sentence is omitted in the last edition.

prove

prove that some of our own monarchs have acknowledged that their high office exempted them, not from punishment, they had the sword of St. Edward, borne before them by an officer who was called earl of the palace, even at the times of their highest pomp and solemnities; to mind them, saith Matthew Paris, (the best of our historians.) "that if they erred, the sword had power to restrain them." And what restraint the sword comes to at length, having both edge and point, if any Sceptic will doubt, let him feel. It is also affirmed from diligent search made in our ancient books of law, that the peers and barons of England had a legal right to judge the king: which was the cause most likely, (for it could be no slight cause,) that they were called his peers, or equals. This however may stand immoveable, so long as man hath to deal with no better than man; that, if our law judge all men to the lowest by their peers, it should in all equity ascend also, and judge the highest. And so much I find, both in our own and foreign story, that dukes, earls, and marquisses were at first not hereditary, not empty and vain titles, but names of trust and office, and with the office ceasing; as induces me to be of opinion, that every worthy man in parliament (for the word baron imports no more,) might for the public good be thought a fit peer and judge of the king; without regard had to petty caveats, and circumstances, the chief impediment in high affairs, and ever stood-upon most by circumstantial men. Whence doubtless our ancestors, who were not ignorant with what rights either nature or ancient constitution, had endowed them; when oaths both at coronation, and renewed in parliament, would not serve, thought it no way illegal to depose and put to death their tyrannous kings. Insomuch that the parliament drew-up a charge against Richard the Second, and the Commons requested to have judgement decreed against him, that the realm might not be endangered. And Peter Martyr, a divine of foremost rank, on the third of Judges approves their doings. Sir Thomas Smith also, a protestant and a statesman, in his "*Commonwealth of England*," putting the question "whether it be lawful to rise against a tyrant?" answers "that the vulgar judge of it according



according to the event, and the learned according to the purpose of them that do it." But far before those days Gildas, the most ancient of all our historians, speaking of those times wherein the Roman empire decaying, quitted and relinquished what right they had by conquest to this island, and resigned it all into the people's hands, testifies that the people thus re-invested with their own original right, about the year 446, both elected them kings, whom they thought best (the first Christian British kings that ever reigned here since the Romans) and by the same right, when they apprehended cause, usually deposed and put them to death. This is the most fundamental and ancient tenure that any king of England can produce or pretend to; in comparison of which, all other titles and pleas are but of yesterday. If any object that Gildas condemns the Britains for so-doing, the answer is as ready; that he condemns them no more for so-doing, than he did before for chusing such; for saith he, "They anointed them kings, not of God, but such as were more bloody than the rest." Next, he condemns them not at all for deposing, or putting them to death, but for doing it over-hastily, without trial, or well-examining the cause, and for electing others that were worse, in their room. Thus we have here both domestic and most ancient example that the people of Britain have deposed and put to death their kings in those primitive Christian times. And, to couple reason with example, if the Church in all ages, primitive, Romish, or protestant, held it ever no less their duty than the power of their keys, though without express warrant of Scripture, to bring indifferently both king and peasant under the utmost rigour of their canons and censures ecclesiastical, even to the smiting him with a final excommunication, if he persist impenitent; what hinders but that the temporal law both may and ought, though without a special text or precedent, to extend with like indifference the civil sword, to the cutting-off, without exemption, him that capitally offends, seeing that justice and religion are from the same God, and works of justice oft-times more acceptable? Yet, because that some lately, with the tongues and arguments of malignant back-sliders, have written that the proceedings now in parliament against the king, are without



without precedent from any protestant state or kingdom; the examples which follow shall be all protestant, and chiefly presbyterian.

In the year 1546, the Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Hesse, and the whole protestant league, raised open war against Charles the Fifth their emperor, sent him a defiance, renounced all faith and allegiance toward him, and debated long in council whether they should give him so much as the title of Cæsar. Sleidan. l. 17. Let all men judge what this wanted of deposing or of killing, but the power to do it. In Germany.

In the year 1559, the Scots protestants claiming promise of their queen-regent for liberty of conscience, she answering that promises were not to be claimed of princes beyond what was commodious for them to grant, told herto her face in the parliament then at Sterling, that, if it were so, they renounced their obedience; and soon after betook them to arms. Buchanan Hist. l. 16. Certainly, when allegiance is renounced, that very hour the king, or queen, is in effect deposed. In Scotland.

In the year 1564, John Knox, a most famous divine, and the reformer of Scotland to the presbyterian discipline, at a general assembly maintained openly in a dispute against Lethington the secretary of state, that subjects might and ought to execute God's judgments upon their king (that the fact of Jehu and others against their king, having the ground of God's ordinary command to put such and such offenders to death, was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that preferred the honour of God to the affection of flesh and wicked princes; that kings, if they offend, have no privilege to be exempted from the punishments of law more than any other subject: so that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or idolater, he should suffer, not as a king, but as an offender; and this position he repeats again and again before them. Answerable was the opinion of John Craig, another learned divine, and that laws made by the tyranny of princes, or the negligence of people, their posterity might abrogate, and reform all things according to the original institution of commonwealths. And Knox, being commanded by the nobility to write to Calvin and other learned

learned men for their judgements in that question, refused; alledging, that both himself was fully resolved in conscience, and had heard their judgements, and had the same opinion under the hand-writing of many the most godly and most learned that he knew in Europe; that, if he should move the question to them again, what should he do but show his own forgetfulness or inconstancy? All this is far more largely in the ecclesiastic history of Scotland, l. 4, with many other passages to this effect all the book over, set-out with diligence by Scotsmen of best repute among them at the beginning of these troubles; as if they laboured to inform us what we were to do, and what they intended upon the like occasion.

And to let the world know, that the whole church and protestant state of Scotland, in those purest times of reformation, were of the same belief, they, three years after, raised an army, and met in the field Mary, their lawful and hereditary queen, and took her prisoner, yielding before the fight, and kept her in prison, and the same year deposed her. Buchan. Hist. l. 18.

And, four years after that, the Scots, in justification of their deposing queen Mary, sent ambassadors to queen Elizabeth, and in a written declaration alledged, that they had used towards her more lenity than she deserved; that their ancestors had heretofore punished their kings by death or banishment; that the Scots were a free nation, made king whom they freely chose, and with the same freedom unkinged him if they saw cause, by right of ancient laws and ceremonies yet remaining, and old customs yet among the highlanders in choosing the head of their clans, or families; all which, with many other arguments, bore witness, that regal power was nothing else but a mutual covenant or stipulation between king and people. Buch. Hist. l. 20. These were Scotsmen, and presbyterians: but what measure then have they lately offered, to think such liberty less becoming us than themselves, presuming to put him upon us for a master, whom their law scarce allows to be their own equal? If now then we hear them in another strain than heretofore in the purest times of their church, we may be confident it is the voice of faction speaking in them,

not

not of truth and reformation. Which no less in England than in Scotland, by the mouths of those faithful witnesses commonly called *puritans* and *non-conformists*, spake as clearly for the putting-down, yea the utmost punishing, of kings, as in their several treatises may be read; even from the first part of the reign of Elizabeth to these times. Insomuch that one of them, whose name was Gibson, foretold king James, that he should be rooted out, and conclude his race, if he persisted to uphold bishops. And that very inscription stamped upon the first coins at his coronation, with a naked sword in a hand with these words, "Si merear, in me," "against me, if I shall deserve it," not only manifested the judgement of that state, but seemed also to presage the sentence of divine justice in this event upon his son.

N.B.

In the year 1581, the States of Holland, in a general assembly at the Hague, abjured all obedience and subjection to Philip king of Spain; and, in a declaration, justify their so doing; for that by his tyrannous government, against faith so many times given and broken, he had lost his right to all the Belgic provinces; that therefore they deposed him, and declared it lawful to choose another in his stead. Thuan. l. 74. From that time to this, no state or kingdom in the world hath equally prospered; but let them remember not to look with an evil and prejudicial eye upon their neighbours for walking by the same rule.

In Holland.

But what need these examples to presbyterians? I mean to those who now, of late, would seem so much to abhor deposing, whenas they to all Christendom have given the latest and the liveliest example of doing it themselves? I question not the lawfulness of raising war against a tyrant in defence of religion, or civil liberty; for there are no protestant churches, from the first Waldenses of Lyons and Languedoc to this day, but have done it round, and maintained it to be lawful. But this I doubt not to affirm, that the presbyterians, who now so much condemn deposing, were themselves the men that deposed the king, and cannot, with all their shifting and relapsing, wash-off the guiltiness from their own hands. For they themselves, by these

these their late doings, have made it guiltiness, and turned their own warrantable actions into rebellion.

That the presbyterians, by resisting and making war against king Charles, did, in effect, depose him.

There is nothing, that so actually makes a king of England, as rightful possession and supremacy in all Causes both Civil and Ecclesiastical : and nothing that so actually makes a subject of England, as those two oaths of allegiance and supremacy observed without equivocating, or any mental reservation. Out of doubt then, when the king shall command things to be done, which are already constituted in church or state, obedience is the essence of a subject, either to do the thing commanded, if it be lawful, or, if he hold the thing unlawful, to submit to that penalty which the law imposes for not doing it, so long as he intends to remain a subject. Therefore when the people, or any part of them, shall rise against the king and his authority, executing the law in any thing established, civil or ecclesiastical, I do not say it is rebellion, if the thing commanded though established be unlawful, and that they sought first all due means of redress (and no man is further bound to law) ; but I say it is an absolute renouncing both of supremacy and allegiance, which in one word is an actual and total deposing of the king, and the setting-up of another supreme authority over them. And whether the presbyterians have not done all this and much more, they will not put me, I suppose, to reckon-up a seven years' story fresh in the memory of all men. Have they not utterly broke the oath of allegiance, rejecting the king's command and authority sent them from any part of the kingdom, whether in things lawful or unlawful ? Have they not abjured the oath of supremacy, by setting-up the parliament without the king, supreme to all their obedience ; and though their vow and covenant bound them in general to the parliament, yet sometimes adhering to the lesser part of lords and commons that remained faithful, as they term it, and even of them, one while to the commons without the lords, another while to the lords without the commons ? Have they not still declared their meaning, whatever their oath were, to hold them only for supreme, whom they found at any time most yielding to what they petitioned-for ? Both these oaths, which were the straightest bond of an English subject in reference

to



to the king, being thus broke and made void; it follows undeniably, that the king from that time was by them in fact absolutely deposed, and they no longer in reality to be thought his subjects, notwithstanding their fine clause in the covenant to preserve his person, crown, and dignity, set there by some dodging casuist, with more craft than sincerity, to mitigate the matter in case of ill success, and not taken I suppose by any honest man, but as a condition subordinate to every the least particle, that might more concern religion, liberty, or the public peace.

To prove it yet more plainly, that they are the men who have deposed the king, I thus argue. We know, that king and subject are relatives, and relatives have no longer being than in the relation; the relation between king and subject can be no other than regal authority and subjection. Hence I infer past their defending, that if the subject, who is one relative, take away the relation, of force he takes away also the other relative: but the presbyterians, who were one relative, that is to say subjects, have for this seven years taken away the relation; that is to say the king's authority, and their subjection to it; therefore the presbyterians for these seven years have removed and extinguished the other relative, that is to say the king; or to speak more in brief, have deposed him; not only by depriving him of the execution of his authority, but by conferring it upon others. If then their oaths of subjection broken, new supremacy obeyed, new oaths and covenant taken, notwithstanding frivolous evasions, have in plain terms unkinged the king, much more then hath their seven years' war, not deposed him only, but outlawed him and defied him as an alien, a rebel to law, and enemy to the state. It must needs be clear to any man not so averse from reason, that hostility and subjection are two direct and positive contraries, and can no more in one subject stand together in respect of the same king, than one person at the same time can be in two remote places. Against whom therefore the subject is in act of hostility, we may be confident, that to him he is in no subjection: and in whom hostility takes place of subjection, for they can by no means consist together, to him the king can be not only no king, but an enemy. So



that from hence we shall not need dispute, whether they have deposed him, or what they have defaulted towards him, as no king, but show manifestly how much they have done toward the killing him. Have they not levied all these wars against him, whether offensive or defensive (for defence in war equally offends, and most prudently beforehand), and given commission to slay, where they knew his person could not be exempt from danger? And if chance or flight had not saved him, how often had they killed him, directing their artillery, without blame or prohibition, to the very place where they saw him stand? Have they not sequestered him, judged or unjudged, and converted his revenue to other uses, detaining from him, as a grand delinquent, all means of livelihood, so that, for them, long since he might have perished, or have starved? Have they not hunted and pursued him round about the kingdom with sword and fire? Have they not formerly denied to treat with him, and their, now recanting, ministers preached against him, as a reprobate incurable, an enemy to God and his church, marked for destruction, and therefore not to be treated with? Have they not besieged him, and to their power forbid him water and fire, save what they shot against him to the hazard of his life? Yet while they thus assaulted and endangered it with hostile deeds, they swore in words to defend it with his crown and dignity; not in order, as it seems now, to a firm and lasting peace, or to his repentance after all this blood; but simply, without regard, without remorse, or any comparable value of all the miseries and calamities suffered by the poor people, or to suffer hereafter through his obstinacy or impenitence. No understanding man can be ignorant, that covenants are ever made according to the present state of persons and of things; and have ever the more general laws of nature and of reason included in them, though not expressed. If I make a voluntary covenant, as with a man to do him good, and he prove afterward a monster to me, I should conceive a disoblige-ment. If I covenant, not to hurt an enemy, in favour of him and forbearance, and hope of his amendment, and he, after that, shall do me tenfold injury and mischief to what he had done when I so covenanted,

Yet of late have al-  
leged an obligation,  
grounded on the  
words of the solemn  
league and covenant,  
to restore him.

nanted, and still be plotting what may tend to my destruction, I question not but that his after-actions release me ; nor know I covenant so sacred, that withholds me from demanding justice on him. Howbeit, had not their distrust in a good cause, and the fast and loose of our prevaricating divines, over-swayed, it had been doubtless better not to have inserted in a covenant unnecessary obligations, and words, not works of supererogating allegiance to their enemy ; no way advantageous to themselves, had the king prevailed, as to their cost many would have felt ; but full of snare and distraction to our friends, useful only, as we now find, to our adversaries, who, under such a latitude and shelter of ambiguous interpretation, have ever since been plotting and contriving new opportunities to trouble all again. How much better had it been, and more becoming an undaunted virtue, to have declared openly and boldly whom and what power the people were to hold supreme, as on the like occasion protestants have done before, and many conscientious men now in these times have more than once besought the parliament to do : that they might go on upon a sure foundation, and not with a riddling Covenant in their mouths, seeming to swear two contrary things, almost in the same breath, allegiance and no allegiance ; which, doubtless, would have drawn off the minds of all sincere men from siding with them, if they had not discerned that their actions tended far more to the deposing him, than their words to the upholding him ; which words, (though they are now made the subject of cavillous interpretations,) stood ever in the Covenant, by judgement of the more discerning sort, as an evidence of their fear, and not of their fidelity. What should I return to speak on, of those attempts for which the king himself hath often charged the presbyterians of seeking his life, whenas, in the due estimation of things, they might without a fallacy be said to have done the deed out-right ? Who knows not, that the king is a name of dignity and office, not of person ? Who therefore kills a king, must kill him while he is a king. Then they certainly, who, by deposing him, have long since taken from him the life of a king, his office and his dignity, may, in the truest sense of the words, be said to have killed the king : not only by their deposing

and waging war against him, (which, besides the danger to his personal life, set him in the farthest opposite situation to any vital function of a king,) but by their holding him in prison, vanquished and yielded into their absolute and despotic power, which brought him to the lowest degradation and incapacity of the regal name. I say not, by whose matchless valour next under God, lest the story of their ingratitude thereupon should carry me from the purpose in hand, which is to convince them, that they who (I repeat it again,) were the men who in the truest sense killed the king, not only as is proved before, but by depressing him, their king, far below the rank of a subject to the condition of a captive, without intention to restore him, as the Chancellor of Scotland in a speech told him plainly at Newcastle, unless he granted fully all their demands, which they knew he never meant to do. Nor did they treat, or think of treating with him, till their hatred to the army that delivered them, not their love or duty to the king, joined them secretly with men sentenced so oft for reprobates in their own mouths, by whose subtle inspiring they grew mad upon a most tardy and improper treaty. Whereas if the whole bent of their actions had not been against the king himself, but only against his evil counsellors, as they feigned, and published, wherefore did they not restore him all that while to the true life of a king, his office, crown and dignity, when he was in their power, and they themselves his nearest counsellors? The truth therefore is, both that they would not, and that indeed they could not without their own certain destruction, having reduced him to such a final pass, as was the very death and burial of all in him that was regal, and from whence never king of England yet revived, but by the new re-inforcement of his own party, which was a kind of resurrection to him. Thus having quite extinguished all that could be in him of a king, and from a total privation clad him over, like another specifical thing, with forms and habitudes destructive to the former, they left in his person, dead as to law and all the civil right either of king or subject, the life only of a prisoner, a captive, and a malefactor : whom the equal and impartial hand of justice finding;

was

The inconsistency of the presbyterians in their conduct towards the king.

was no more to spare than another ordinary man ; not only made obnoxious to the doom of law by a charge more than once drawn-up against him, and his own confession to the first article at Newport, but summoned and arraigned in the sight of God and his people, cursed and devoted to perdition worse than any Ahab, or Antiochus, with exhortation to curse all those in the name of God, that made not war against him, as bitterly as Meroz was to be cursed, that went not out against a Canaanitish king, almost in all the sermons, prayers, and fulminations, that have been uttered for these seven years by those cloven tongues of falsehood and dissension, who now, to the stirring-up of new discord, acquit him ; and, against their own discipline, (which they boast to be the throne and sceptre of Christ,) absolve him, uncounfound him, though unconverted, unrepentant, unsensible of all their precious saints and martyrs, whose blood they have so oft laid upon his head : and now again, with a new sovereign anointment, can wash it all off, as if it were as vile, and no more to be reckoned for than the blood of so many dogs in a time of pestilence : giving the most opprobrious lie to all the acted zeal, that for these many years hath filled their bellies, and fed them fat upon the foolish people. Ministers of sedition, not of the gospel, who, while they saw it manifestly tend to civil war and bloodshed, never ceased exasperating the people against him ; and now, that they see it likely to breed new commotion, cease not to incite others against the people, that have saved them from him, as if sedition were their only aim, whether against him or for him. But God, as we have cause to trust, will put other thoughts into the people, and turn them from giving ear, or heed, to these mercenary noise-makers, of whose fury and false prophecies we have had enough experience ; and, from the murmurs of new discord, will incline them, to hearken rather with erected minds to the voice of our supreme magistracy, calling us to Liberty, and the flourishing deeds of a reformed commonwealth ; with this hope, that, as God was heretofore angry with the Jews, who rejected him and his form of government to choose a king, so he will bless us, and be propitious to us, who reject a king, to make him only our leader, and supreme

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preme governour, in the conformity, as near as may be, to his own ancient government; if we have at least but so much worth in us as to entertain the sense of our future happiness, and the courage to receive what God vouchsafes to give us: wherein we have the honour to precede other nations, who are now labouring to be our followers. For, as to this question in hand, "what the people, by their just right, may do in change of government, or of governor," we see it cleared sufficiently; besides other ample authority, even from the mouths of princes themselves. And, surely, they that shall boast, as we do, to be a free nation, and not have in themselves the power to remove, or to abolish, any governor, supreme, or subordinate, with the government itself, upon urgent causes, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies; but are indeed under tyranny and servitude; as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose and economize in the land which God hath given them, as masters of families in their own houses and free inheritances: Without which natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can in due esteem be thought no better than slaves and vassals born, in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord: Whose government, though not illegal or intolerable, hangs over them as a lordly scourge, not as a free government; and therefore is fit to be abrogated. How much more justly then may they fling-off tyranny, or tyrants; who, being once deposed, can be no more than private men, as subject to the reach of justice and arraignment, as any other transgressors? And certainly if men, (not to speak of heathens,) both wise and religious, have done justice upon tyrants what way they could soonest, how much more mild and humane then is

N.B. it, to give them fair and open trial? to teach lawless kings, and all who so much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious will, but justice, is the only true sovereign and supreme majesty upon earth? Let men cease therefore, out of faction and hypocrisy, to make outcries, and horrid things, of a thing so just and honourable.

\* "Though perhaps till now, no protestant state or king-

This is also omitted in the last edition.

dom



dom can be alledged to have openly put to death their king, which lately some have written, and imputed to their great glory; much mistaking the matter. It is not, neither ought it to be, the glory of a protestant state, never to have put their king to death; it is the glory of a protestant king never to have deserved to be put to death." And, if the parliament and military council do what they do without precedent, if it appear their duty, it argues the more wisdom, virtue, and magnanimity, that they know themselves able to be a precedent to others; Who, perhaps, in future ages, if they prove not too degenerate, will look-up with honour, and aspire, toward these exemplary and matchless deeds of their ancestors, as to the highest top of their civil glory and emulation. Which heretofore, in the pursuance of fame and foreign dominion, spent itself vaingloriously abroad; but henceforth may learn a better fortune; to dare to execute highest justice on them, that shall, by force of arms, endeavour the oppressing and bereaving them of their religion and their liberty at home: that no unbridled potentate, or tyrant, but to his sorrow, for the future may presume to exercise such high and irresponsible licence over mankind, to havoc and turn upside-down whole kingdoms of men, as though they were no more, in respect of his perverse will, than a nation of pismires.

N.B.

As to the party called presbyterian, (of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful christians, though misled by some of turbulent spirit,) I wish them, earnestly and calmly, not to fall-off from their first principles, nor to affect rigour and superiority over men, nor under them; not to compel unforcible things, in religion especially, which, if not voluntary, becomes a sin; not to assist the clamour and malicious drifts of men, whom they themselves have judged to be the worst of men, the obdurate, enemies of God and his church: nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument, those wrested laws and scriptures thrown by prelates and malignants against their own sides, which, though they hurt not otherwise, yet taken-up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostacy.

An exhortation to the presbyterian party.

tacy.' Let them not oppose their best friends and associates, who molest them 'not at all, infringe not the least of their liberties, (unless they call it their liberty to bind other mens' consciences,) but are still seeking to live at peace with them and brotherly accord. Let them beware an old and perfect enemy, who, though he hope by sowing discord to make them his instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatening of his destined revenge upon them, when they have served his purposes. Let them fear therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, than what remains to do, and be warned in time that they put no confidence in princes whom they have provoked, lest they be added to the examples of those that miserably have tasted the event. Stories can inform them how Christiern the IIId, king of Denmark, not much above a hundred years past, who had been driven-out by his subjects, and received again upon new oaths and conditions, broke through them all to his most bloody revenge ; slaying his chief opposers, when he saw his time, both them and their children invited to a feast for that purpose. How Maximilian dealt with those of Bruges, though by mediation of the German princes reconciled to them by solemn and public writings drawn and sealed. How the massacre at Paris was the effect of that credulous peace, which the French protestants made with Charles the IX. their king : and that the main visible cause, which to this day hath saved the Netherlands from utter ruin, was their final not believing the perfidious cruelty, which, as a constant maxim of state, hath been used by the Spanish kings on their subjects that have taken arms, and, after, trusted them ; as no latter age but can testify, heretofore in Belgia itself, and this very year in Naples. And, to conclude with one more example past exception, though far more ancient, David, (whose sanctified prudence might be alone sufficient, not to warrant us only, but to instruct us,) when once he had taken arms, never, after that, trusted Saul, though with tears and much relenting he twice promised not to hurt him. These instances, few of many, might admonish them, both English and Scotch, not to let their own ends, and the driving-on of a faction, betray them blindly into the snare of those enemies whose revenge looks on them as the men who

Instances of the perfidious revenge of princes against their subjects, for having opposed them.

who first begun, fomented, and carried-on beyond the cure of any sound or safe accommodation, all the evil which hath since unavoidably befallen them and their king.

I have something also to say to the divines, though brief. Advice to the Presbyterian clergy.  
to what were needful; not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good pastors, knowing that he, whose flock is least among them, hath a dreadful charge, not performed by mounting twice into the chair with a formal preaching huddled-up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching in season and out of season, from house to house; over the souls of those whom they have to feed. Which if they ever well considered, how little leisure would they find, to be the most pragmatical sidesmen of every popular tumult and sedition? And all this while are to learn what the true end and reason is of the gospel which they teach; and how widely it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over conscience. It would be good also that they lived so as might persuade the people that they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; and that they hated pluralities, and all kinds of simony; and left rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest. Of which if some, well and seated from the beginning, be not guilty, it were good they held not conversation with such as are: let them be sorry, that, being called to assemble about reforming the church, they fell to propping and soliciting the parliament, (though they had renounced the name of priests,) for a new settling of their tithes and oblations; and double-lined themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible discharge of their duty. Let them assemble in Consistory with their Elders and Deacons, according to ancient ecclesiastical rule, to the preserving of church-discipline, each in his several charge: and not, a pack of clergymen by themselves, to belly-cheer in their presumptuous Sion, or to promote designs, abuse and gull the simple laity, and stir-up tumult, as the prelates did, for the maintenance of their pride and avarice.

avarice. These things if they observe, and wait with patience, no doubt but all things will go well without their importunities and exclamations: and the printed letters, which they send subscribed with the ostentation of great characters and little moment, would be more considerable than now they are. But if they be the ministers of mammon instead of Christ, and scandalize his church with the filthy love of gain, aspiring also to sit the closest and the heaviest of all tyrants upon the conscience, and fall notoriously into the same sins, whereof so lately and so loud they accused the prelates; as God rooted-out those wicked ones immediately before, so will he root-out them, their imitators; and, to vindicate his own glory and religion, will uncover their hypocrisy to the open world; and visit upon their own heads that "curse ye Meroz," the very motto of their pulpits, wherewith so frequently, not as Meroz, but more like atheists, they have blasphemed the vengeance of God, and traduced the zeal of his people.

Passages from the writings of the Protestant divines to prove the lawfulness of deposing bad kings.

"\* And that they be not what they go-for, true ministers of the protestant doctrine, taught by those abroad, famous and religious men, who first reformed the church, or by those no less zealous, who withstood corruption and the bishops here at home, branded with the name of *puritans* and *non-conformists*, we shall abound with testimonies to make appear; that men may yet more fully know the difference between protestant divines, and these pulpit-firebrands.

From Luther.

Luther. Lib. contrà rusticos apud Sleidan. l. 5.

Is est hodiè rerum status, &c. "Such is the state of things at this day, that men neither can, nor will, nor indeed ought to endure longer the domination of you princes."

Nèque verò Cæsarem, &c. "Neither is Cæsar to

\* All that follows, to the end of this tract, marked with inverted commas, was left out not only in the last edition, printed 1798, in 2 vols. folio; but in that of Mr. Toland, who first collected the author's works: how this omission arose, the reader will see in a note at the beginning of this tract, p. 341.

make



make war as head of Christendom, protector of the Church, defender of the faith; these titles being false and windy, and most kings being the greatest enemies to religion." Lib. de Bello contra Turcas, apud, Sleid. l. 14. What hinders then, but that we may depose or punish them?

These also are recited by Cochläus in his Miscellanies to be the words of Luther, or some other eminent divine, then in Germany, when the protestants there entered into solemn covenant at Smalcaldia. Ut ora iis obturem. &c. "That I may stop their mouths, the pope and emperor are not born, but elected, and may also be deposed, as hath been often done." If Luther, or whoever else, thought so, he could not stay there; for the right of birth, or succession, can be no privilege in nature, to let a tyrant sit irremovable over a nation freeborn, without transforming that nation from the nature and condition of men born free, into natural, hereditary, and successive slaves. Therefore he saith further; "To displace and throw down this exactor, this Phalaris, this Nero, is a work pleasing to God;" namely, for being such a one: which is a moral reason. Shall then so slight a consideration as his hap to be not elective simply, but by birth, which was a mere accident, overthrow that which is moral, and make displeasing to God that which otherwise had so well pleased him? Certainly not: for, if the matter be rightly argued, election, much rather than chance, binds a man to content himself with what he suffers by his own bad election. Though, indeed, neither the one nor other binds any man, much less any people, to a necessary sufferance of those wrongs and evils, which they have ability and strength enough given them to remove.

N. B.

Zwinglius, tom. 1, articul. 42.

Quando verò perfidè, &c. "When kings reign perfidiously, and against the rule of Christ, they may, according to the word of God, be deposed."

Mihi ergò compertum non est, &c. "I know not how



how it comes to pass, that kings reign by succession, unless it be with consent of the whole people." Ibid.

Quum verò consensu, &c. "But when by suffrage and consent of the whole people, or the better part of them, a tyrant is deposed or put to death, God is the chief leader in that action." Ibid.

Nunc cum tam tepidi sumus, &c. "Now that we are so lukewarm in upholding public justice, we endure the vices of tyrants to reign nowadays with impunity; justly, therefore, by them we are trod underfoot, and shall at length with them be punished. Yet ways are not wanting by which tyrants may be removed, but there wants public justice." Ibid.

Cavete vobis, ô tyranni. "Beware, ye tyrants! for now the gospel of Jesus Christ, spreading far and wide, will renew the lives of many to love innocence and justice; which if ye also shall do, ye shall be honoured. But, if ye shall go on to rage and do violence, ye shall be trampled on by all men." Ibid.

Romanum imperium, imò quodque, &c. "When the Roman empire, or any other, shall begin to oppress religion, and we negligently suffer it, we are as much guilty of religion so violated, as the oppressors themselves." Idem Epist. ad Conrad. Somium.

#### Calvin on Daniel, c. iv. v. 25.

Hodiè monarchæ semper in suis titulis, &c. "Nowadays monarchs pretend always in their titles, to be kings by the grace of God: but how many of them to this end only pretend it, that they may reign without control? for to what purpose is the grace of God mentioned in the title of kings, but that they may acknowledge no superior? In the mean-while God, whose name they use, to support themselves, they willingly N. B. would tread under their feet. It is therefore a mere cheat, when they boast to reign by the grace of God."

Abdicant se terreni principes, &c. "Earthly princes depose themselves, while they rise against God, yea they are unworthy to be numbered among men: rather  
it

it behoves us to spit upon their heads, than to obey them." On Dan. c. vi. v. 22.

Bucer on Matth. c. v.

Si princeps superior, &c. "If a sovereign prince endeavour by arms to defend transgressors, to subvert those things which are taught in the word of God, they, who are in authority under him, ought first to dissuade him; if they prevail not, and that he now bears himself not as a prince but as an enemy, and seeks to violate privileges and rights granted to inferior magistrates or commonalties, it is the part of pious magistrates, imploring first the assistance of God, rather to try all ways and means, than to betray the flock of Christ, to such an enemy of God: for they also are to this end ordained, that they may defend the people of God, and maintain those things which are good and just. For to have supreme power lessens not the evil committed by that power, but makes it the less tolerable, by how much the more generally hurtful. Then certainly the less tolerable, the more unpardonably to be punished."

Of Peter Martyr we have spoken before.

Paræus in Rom. xiii.

Quorum est constituere magistratus, &c. "They whose part is to set-up magistrates, may restrain them also from outrageous deeds, or pull them down; but all magistrates are set-up either by parliament or by electors, or by other magistrates; they therefore, who exalted them, may lawfully degrade and punish them."

"Of the Scots divines, I need not mention others than the famousest among them, Knox, and his fellow-labourers in the reformation of Scotland; whose large treatises on this subject, defend the same opinion. To cite them sufficiently, were to insert their whole books, written purposely on this argument. "Knox's Appeal;" and to the reader; where he promises in a postscript, that the book which he intended to set-forth, called "The

"The second Blast of the Trumpet," should maintain more at large, that the same men most justly may depose, and punish him whom unadvisedly they have elected, notwithstanding birth, succession, or any oath of allegiance. Among our own divines, Cartwright and Fenner, two of the learnedest, may in reason satisfy us what was held by the rest. Fenner, in his book of Theology, maintaining, that they who have power, that is to say a parliament, may, either by fair means or by force, depose a tyrant, whom he defines to be, him that wilfully breaks all, or the principal, conditions made between him and the commonwealth. Fen. Sac. Theolog. c. 13. And Cartwright, in a prefixed epistle, testifies his approbation of the whole book.

*Gilby de Obedientiâ, p. 25. and 105.*

"Kings have their authority of the people, who may upon occasion re-assume it to themselves."

*England's complaint against the Canons.*

"The people may kill wicked princes, as monsters and cruel beasts."

*Christopher Goodman of Obedience.*

"When kings, or rulers, become blasphemers of God, oppressors and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted kings or lawful magistrates, but, as private men, to be examined, accused, and condemned and punished by the law of God: and being convicted and punished by that law, it is not man's but God's doing." c. x. p. 139.

"By the civil laws, a fool or idiot born, and so proved, shall lose the lands and inheritance whereto he is born, because he is not able to use them aright: and especially ought in no case to be suffered to have the government of a whole nation: But there is no such evil can come to the commonwealth by fools and idiots, as doth by the rage and fury of ungodly rulers; such therefore, being

being without God, ought to have no authority over God's people, who by his word requireth the contrary." c. xi. p. 143, 144.

"No person is exempt by any law of God from this punishment; be he king, queen, or emperor, he must die the death. For God hath not placed them above others, to transgress his laws as they list; but to be subject to them as well as others: and, if they be subject to his laws, then to the punishment also; so much the more as their example is more dangerous." c. xiii. p. 184.

"When magistrates cease to do their duty, the people are, as it were, without magistrates, yea worse; and then God giveth the sword into the people's hand; and he himself is become immediately their head." p. 185.

"If princes do right, and keep promise with you, then do you owe to them all humble obedience; if not, ye are discharged, and your study ought to be in this case how ye may depose and punish according to the law such rebels against God, and oppressors of their country." p. 190.

"This Goodman was a minister of the English church at Geneva, as Dudley Fenner was at Middleburgh, or some other place in that country. These were the pastors of those saints and confessors, who, flying from the bloody persecution of queen Mary, gathered-up at length their scattered members into many congregations; whereof some in upper, some in lower Germany, and part of them settled in Geneva; where this author, having preached on this subject to the great liking of certain learned and godly men, who heard him, was by them sundry times, and with much instance, required to write more fully on that point. Who thereupon took it in hand, and, conferring with the best-learned men in those parts, (among whom Calvin was then living in the same city) with their special approbation he published this treatise, aiming principally, (as is testified by Whittingham in the preface,) that his brethren of England, the protestants, might be persuaded in the truth of that doctrine concerning obedience to magistrates. Whittingham in prefat.

"These were the true protestant divines of England, our fathers in the faith we hold; this was their sense,  
2 A who

A new set of Presbyterian clergymen arose about the year 1640, who were very covetous and ambitious.

Remarks on the treatise called "Scripture and Reason," written by some presbyterian divines.

who for so many years labouring under prelacy, through all storms and persecutions kept religion from extinguishing; and delivered it pure to us, till there arose a covetous and ambitious generation of divines (for divines they call themselves!) who, feigning on a sudden to be new converts and proselytes from episcopacy, under which they had long temporised, opened their mouths at length, in show against pluralities and prelacy, but with intent to swallow them down both; gorging themselves like harpies on those simonious places and preferments of their outed predecessors, as the quarry for which they hunted, not to plurality only, but to multiplicity; for possessing which they had accused their brethren, and aspiring, under another title, to the same authority and usurpation over the consciences of all men.

"Of this faction, divers reverend and learned divines, (as they are styled in the philactery of their own title page) pleading the lawfulness of defensive arms against the king, in a treatise called "Scripture and Reason," seem in words to disclaim utterly the deposing of a king; but both the Scripture, and the reasons which they use, draw consequences after them, which, without their bidding, conclude it lawful. For, if, by Scripture, and by that especially to the Romans, (which they most insist upon,) kings, doing that which is contrary to Saint Paul's definition of a magistrate, may be resisted, they may, altogether, with as much force of consequence, be deposed or punished. And, if by reason the unjust authority of a king "may be forfeited in part, and his power be re-assumed in part, either by the parliament or people, for the case in hazard and the present necessity," (as they affirm p. 34,) there can no Scripture be alleged, no imaginable reason given, (that necessity continuing, as it may always, and they, in all prudence and their duty, may take upon them to foresee it,) why in such a case they may not finally amerce him with the loss of his kingdom, of whose amendment they have no hope. And, if one wicked action persisted in against religion, laws, and liberties, may warrant us to thus much in part, why may not forty times as many tyrannies, by him committed, warrant us to proceed on restraining him, till the



the restraint become total? For the ways of justice are in exactest proportion; if for one trespass of a king it require so much remedy or satisfaction, then for twenty more as heinous crimes, it requires of him twenty-fold; and so proportionably, till it come to what is utmost among men. If in these proceedings against their king they may not finish, by the usual course of justice, what they have begun, they could not lawfully begin at all. For this golden rule of justice and morality, as well as of arithmetic, out of three terms which they admit, will as certainly and unavoidably bring out the fourth, as any problem that ever Euclid or Apollonius made good by demonstration.

“And, if the parliament, (being undeposable but by themselves, as is affirmed, p. 37, 38,) might, for his whole life, if they saw cause, take all power, authority, and the sword out of his hand, (which in effect is to un-magistrate him,) why might they not, being then themselves the sole magistrates in force, proceed to punish him, who, being lawfully deprived of all things that define a magistrate, can be now no magistrate to be degraded lower, but an offender to be punished.

Lastly, whom they may defy, and meet in battle, why may they not as well prosecute by justice? For lawful war is but the execution of justice against them who refuse law. Among whom if it be lawful (as they deny not, p. 19, 20,) to slay the king himself coming in front at his own peril, wherefore may not justice do that intently, which the chance of a defensive war might without blame have done casually, nay purposely, if there it find him among the rest?

They ask, p. 19, “By what rule of conscience or of God, a state is bound to sacrifice religion, laws and liberties, rather than that a prince defending such persons as subvert them, should come in hazard of his life.” And I ask by what conscience, or divinity, or law, or reason, a state is bound to leave all these sacred concerns under a perpetual hazard and extremity of danger, rather than cut-off a wicked prince, who sits plotting day and night to subvert them.

They tell us, that the law of nature justifies any man to defend himself, even against the king in person. Let them

show us then, why the same law may not justify much more a state or whole people, to do justice upon him, against whom each private man may lawfully defend himself; seeing all kind of justice done is a defence to good men, as well as a punishment to bad; and justice done upon a tyrant is no more but the necessary self-defence of a whole commonwealth. To make war upon a king, to the end that *his instruments* may be brought to condign punishment, and thereafter to punish them, *the instruments*; and at the same time not only to *spare the king* himself who was the author of all the mischief done, but to *defend and honour* him, is the strangest sort of justice to be called *Christian*, and the strangest way of reasoning to be called *human*, that by men of reverence and learning, (as their style imports them to be) ever yet was invented.

They maintain in the third and fourth section, that a judge, or inferiour magistrate, is anointed of God, is his minister, hath the sword in his hand, is to be obeyed by St. Peter's rule, as well as the supreme, and without difference any where expressed: and yet will have us fight against the supreme till he remove and punish the inferiour magistrate (for such were greatest delinquents); whereas by Scripture, and by reason, there can no more authority be shown to resist the one than the other; and altogether as much, to punish or depose the supreme himself, as to make war upon him, till he punish, or deliver-up, his inferiour magistrates, whom in the same terms we are commanded to obey, and not to resist.

Thus, while they, in a cautious line or two here and there stuffed-in, are only verbal against the pulling-down, or punishing, of tyrants, all the Scripture and the reason, which they bring, is in every leaf direct and rational, to infer it to be altogether as lawful as to resist them.

And yet in all their sermons, (as hath by others been well noted) they went much further. For divines, if we observe them, have their postures, and their motions no less expertly, and with no less variety, than they that practice feats in the Artillery-ground. Sometimes they seem furiously to march on, and presently march counter; by and by they stand, and then retreat; or, if need be, can face-about, or wheel in a whole body, with that cunning and dexterity as is almost unperceivable; to land themselves, by shifting ground, into places of more advantage.

Many of the modern Divines deliver different opinions at different times, as best suits their worldly Interests.

advantage. And *Providence* only must be the drum, *Providence* the word of command, that calls them from above, but always to some larger benefice, or acts them into such or such figures and promotions. At their turns and doublings no men readier, to the right, or to the left; for it is their turns which they serve chiefly: herein only singular, that with them there is no certain hand right or left, but as their own commodity thinks best to call it. But, if there come a truth to be defended, which to them, and their interest of this world, seems not so profitable, straight these nimble motionists can find no even legs to stand upon; and are no more of use to reformation thoroughly performed, and not superficially, or to the advancement of truth (which among mortal men is always in her progress) than if on a sudden they were struck main and crippled. Which the better to conceal, or the more to countenance by a general conformity to their own limping, they would have Scripture, they would have reason also made to halt with them for company; and would put us off with impotent conclusions, lame and shorter than the premises. In this posture they seem to stand with great zeal and confidence on the wall of Sion; but, like Jebusites, not like Israelites, or Levites: blind also as well as lame, they discern not David from Adonibezec: but cry him up for the Lord's anointed, whose thumbs and great toes not long before they had cut-off upon their pulpit cushions. Therefore he who is our only king, the root of David, and whose kingdom is eternal righteousness, with all those that war under him, whose happiness and final hopes are laid-up in that only just and rightful kingdom (which we pray incessantly may come soon, and in so praying wish hasty ruin and destruction to all tyrants) even he our immortal King, and all that love him, must of necessity have in abomination these blind and lame defenders of Jerusalem; as the soul of David hated them, and forbad them entrance into God's house, and his own. But as to those before them, which I cited first (and with an easy search, for many more might be added) as they there stand, without more in number, being the best and chief of protestant divines, we may follow them for faithful guides, and without doubting

But the more antient Protestant Divines cited above in this discourse, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Gilly, and Goodman, may be followed as faithful guides upon this subject.

may receive them, as witnesses abundant of what we here affirm concerning tyrants. And, indeed, I find it generally the clear and positive determination of them all, (not prelatical, or of this late faction *subprelatical*) who have written on this argument; that to do justice on a lawless king, is to a private man unlawful; to an inferior magistrate lawful; or if they were divided in opinion, yet greater than these here alledged, or of more authority than the church, there can be none produced. If any one shall go about, by bringing other testimonies, to disable these, or by bringing these against themselves in other cited passages of their books he will not only fail to make good that false and impudent assertion of those mutinous ministers, that the deposing and punishing of a king or tyrant "is against the constant judgement of all protestant divines," it being quite the contrary; but will prove rather (what, perhaps, he intended not,) to wit that the judgement of divines, if it be so various and inconstant to itself, is not considerable, or to be esteemed at all." But, before this concussion be admitted to be true, (as I hope it never will,) these ignorant asserters in their own art will have proved themselves more and more, not to be protestant divines, whose constant judgement in this point they have so audaciously belied, but rather to be a pack of hungry church-wolves, who, in the steps of Simon Magus, their father, following the hot scent of double livings and pluralities, advowsons, donatives, inductions, and augmentations, though uncalled to the flock of Christ, but by the mere suggestion of their bellies, (like those priests of Bel, whose pranks Daniel sound-out;) have got possession, or rather seized upon, the pulpit, as the strong-hold and fortress of their sedition and rebellion against the civil magistrate. Whose friendly and victorious hand, (having rescued them from the bishops, their insulting lords,) fed them plenteously, both in public and in private, raised them to be high and rich from being poor and base; only suffered not their covetousness and fierce ambition, (which as the pit that sent out their fellow locusts, hath been ever bottomless and boundless) to interpose, in all things, and over all persons, their impetuous ignorance and importunity."

THE  
READY AND EASY WAY  
TO ESTABLISH A  
FREE COMMONWEALTH,  
AND THE EXCELLENCE THEREOF,  
COMPARED WITH THE  
INCONVENIENCES AND DANGERS  
OF  
*RE-ADMITTING KINGSHIP*  
IN THIS NATION.

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————— Et nos  
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.





THE  
 READY AND EASY WAY  
 TO ESTABLISH A  
*FREE COMMONWEALTH,*  
 &c.

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**A**LTHOUGH, since the writing\* of this treatise, the face of things hath had some change, writs for new elections have been re-called, and the members at first chosen re-admitted from exclusion; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declared the resolution of those who are in power, tending to the establishment of a free commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humour of returning to bondage, instilled of late by some deceivers, and nourished from bad principles and false apprehensions among too many of the people; I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping that it may now† be of much more use and concernment to be freely published, in the midst of our elections to a free parliament, or their sitting to consider freely of the government; whom it behoves to have all things represented to them that may direct their judgement therein; and I never read of any state, scarce of any tyrant, grown so incurable, as to refuse counsel from any in a time of public deliberation, much less to be offended. If their absolute determination be to enthrall us, before so long a Lent of servitude, they may permit us a little shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of liberty. And because in the former edition, through haste, many faults escaped, and many books were suddenly dispersed, ere the note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunity from this occasion

\* About the 20th of December, 1659.

† Probably, about the 25th of March, 1659-60.

occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual senate. The treatise thus revised and enlarged, is as follows.

An account of the first establishment of the Commonwealth-government in 1648.

That the Parliament in making this change in the government were not guilty of a breach of the Covenant.

The parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of religion and their civil liberties, judging kingship, by long experience, to be a government unnecessary burdensome, and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolished it, turning regal bondage into a free commonwealth, to the admiration and terrour of our emulous neighbours. They took themselves to be not bound either by the light of nature or by religion to any former covenant, from which the king himself, by many forfeitures of a latter date or discovery and our own longer consideration thereon, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity; as hath been ever the justice and the prudence of all wise notions, that have ejected tyranny. They covenanted "to preserve the king's person and authority, in the preservation of the true religion, and our liberties;" not in his endeavouring to bring-in upon our consciences a popish religion; upon our liberties, thralldom; upon our lives, destruction, by his occasioning, it not complotting, as was after discovered, the Irish massacre; his fomenting and arming the rebellion; his covert leaguings with the rebels against us; his refusing, more than seven times propositions most just and necessary to the true religion and our liberties, tendered him by the parliament both of England and Scotland. They made not their covenant concerning him with no difference between a king and a God; or promised him, as Job did to the Almighty, "to trust in him though he slay us:" they understood that the solemn engagement, wherein we all foreswore kingship, was no more a breach of the covenant, than the covenant was of the protestation before, but a faithful and prudent going-on both in words well weighed and in the true sense of the covenant "without respect of persons," when we could not serve two contrary masters, God and the king, or the king and that

that more supreme law, sworn in the first place to maintain our safety and our liberty. They knew the people of England to be a free people, and themselves to be the representers of that freedom; and, although many were excluded, and as many fled (so they pretended) from tumults to Oxford, yet there were left a sufficient number to act in parliament, and therefore they were not bound by any statute of preceding parliaments, but by the law of nature only, which is the only law of laws truly and properly to all mankind *fundamental*; the beginning and the end of all government; to which there is no parliament, or people, that are resolved thoroughly to reform, but may and must have recourse; as they had, and must yet have, in church-reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to evangelic rules; not to ecclesiastical canons, though never so ancient, so ratified and established in the land by statutes, which, for the most part, are mere *positive* laws, neither natural nor moral; and so are liable by any parliament, for just and serious considerations, without scruple, to be at any time repealed. If others of their number in these things were under force, they were not, but under free conscience; if others were excluded by a power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the helm of government in no hands, to discontinue their care of the public peace and safety, to desert the people in anarchy and confusion, no more than when so many of their members left them, as made-up, in outward formality, a more legal parliament of three estates against them. The best-affected also, and best-principled, of the people, did not stand numbering or computing, on which side were most voices in parliament, but on which side appeared to them most reason, and most safety, when the house divided upon main matters. What was well-motioned and advised, they examined not whether fear or persuasion carried it in the vote, neither did they measure votes and counsels by the intentions of them that voted; knowing that intentions either are but guessed-at, or not soon enough known; and although good, can neither make the deed such, nor prevent the consequence from being bad: suppose bad intentions in things otherwise well done; what was well

A justification of the Parliament for their proceeding to make this important change, after the forcible exclusion of several members by the army.

\*As Oliver Cromwell and his creatures.

In matters of extreme importance, a minority, having the power in their hands, may justly controul the majority.

Reasons why it was proper to break-off the treaty with the king in the Isle of Wight, in September, 1648.

well done, was by them who so thought, not the less obeyed or followed in the state; since in the church, who had not rather follow Iscariot or Simon the magician, though to covetous ends, preaching, than Saul, though in the uprightness of his heart persecuting the gospel? Safer they therefore judged what they thought the better counsels, (though carried-on by some, perhaps, to bad ends,) than the worse by others, though endeavoured with best intentions: and yet they were not to learn, that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a parliament, as well as of a city; whereof in matters of nearest concernment all men will be judges; nor easily permit that the odds of voices in their greatest council shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes, than the odds of enemies by open assaults; judging, that most voices ought not always to prevail, where main matters are in question. If others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels; what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only so judging, but a great, though not the greatest, number of their chosen patriots, who might be more in weight than the others in numbers: there being in number little virtue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things, and the dangers on either side they seriously thus weighed. From the treaty, short fruits of long labours, and seven years wars; security for twenty years, if we can hold it; reformation in the Church for three years: then put to shift again with our vanquished master. His justice, his honour, his conscience, declared quite contrary to ours; which would have furnished him with many such evasions, as in a Book entitled, "An Inquisition for Blood," soon after were not concealed; Bishops not totally removed, but left, as it were, in ambush, a reserve, with ordination in their sole power; their lands already sold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them called "Sacrilege;" Delinquents, few of many brought to condign punishment; Accessories punished; the chief author, above pardon, though after utmost resistance, vanquished; not to give, but to receive laws; yet besought, treated-with, and to be thanked for his gracious concessions,



concessions, to be honoured, worshipped, glorified. If this we swore to do, with what righteousness in the sight of God, with what assurance that we bring not by such an oath, the whole sea of blood-guiltiness upon our heads? If on the other side we prefer a free government, though for the present not obtained, yet all those suggested fears and difficulties, as the event will prove, easily overcome, we remain finally secure from the exasperated regal power, and out of snares; shall retain the best part of our liberty, which is our religion, and the civil part will be from these who defer us, much more easily recovered, being neither so subtle or so awful as a king re-inthroned. Nor were their actions less both at home and abroad, than might become the hopes of a glorious rising Commonwealth: Nor were the expressions both of army and people, whether in their public declarations, or several writings, other than such as testified a spirit in this nation, no less noble and well-fitted to the liberty of a commonwealth, than in the ancient Greeks or Romans. Nor was the heroic cause unsuccessfully defended to all Christendom, against the tongue of a famous and thought invincible adversary\*; nor the constancy and fortitude that so nobly vindicated our liberty, our victory at once against two the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny, unpraised or uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to out-live detraction, as it hath hitherto convinced or silenced not a few of our detractors, especially in parts abroad. After our liberty and religion thus prosperously fought-for; gained, and many years possessed, except in those unhappy interruptions, which God hath removed; now that nothing remains, but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate settlement for ever in a firm and free Commonwealth, for this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honour won, or deliverances vouchsafed from Heaven, to fall-back, or rather to creep-back so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thralldom of kingship, to be ourselves the slanderers of our own just and religious deeds, though done by some† to covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefore to be stained with their

The advantages that were to be expected from a Commonwealth-government.

The great glory the Commonwealth actually attained to.

\* Salmasius,

The folly of returning to the bondage of kingship.

† Oliver Cromwell, &c.

their infamy, or they to asperse the integrity of others; and yet these now by revoking from the conscience of deeds well-done, both in church and state; to throw-away and forsake, or rather to betray, a just and noble cause for the mixture of bad men who have ill-managed and abused it, which had our fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true religion, what had long ere this become of our gospel, and all protestant reformation so much intermixt with the avarice and ambition of some reformers?) and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discerned and justly censured both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical, and impious; not only argues a strange degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the West? The foundation indeed they lay gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions; than those at the tower of Babel; and have left no memorial of their work behind them remaining, but in the common laughter of Europe! Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we look on our neighbours the United Provinces, to us inferiour in all outward advantages; who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly went through with the same work, and are settled in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing republic to this day.

If the king be re-admitted, all the liberties obtained by the civil war will be in danger of being lost again.

Besides this, if we return to kingship, and soon repent, (as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old enroachments coming on by little and little upon our consciences, which must necessarily proceed from king and bishop united inseparably in one interest,) we may  
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be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanced to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from Heaven in our cause, if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless; flying now to regal concessions from his divine condescensions, and gracious answers to our once importuning prayers against the tyranny which we then groan'd under; making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives; losing by a strange aftergame of folly all the battles we have won, together with all Scotland as to our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our kings could conquer, all the treasure we have spent, not that corruptible treasure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous deliverances; treading back again with lost labour all our happy steps in the progress of reformation, and most pitifully depriving ourselves of the instant fruition of that free government, which we have so dearly purchased, a free Commonwealth, not only held by wisest men in all ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportioned equality, both human, civil, and christian, most cherishing to virtue and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined, by our Saviour himself, to all christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of Gentilism upon kingship. God in much displeasure gave a king to the Israelites, and imputed it as a sin to them that they sought one: but Christ apparently forbids his disciples, to admit of any such heathenish government; "The kings of the Gentiles," saith he, "exercise lordship over them;" and they that "exercise authority upon them are called benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief,

A Commonwealth is the happiest form of government, and the most favourable to virtue; and is recommended by our Saviour in the gospel.

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as he that serveth." The occasion of these his words was the ambitious desire of Zebedee's two sons, to be exalted above their brethren in his kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon earth. That he speaks of civil government, is manifest by the former part of the comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what government comes nearer to this precept of Christ, than a free commonwealth; wherein they who are the greatest, are the perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly in their families, walk the street as other men. may be spoken to freely, familiarly, and in a friendly manner without adoration? What as a king must be adored like a demigod: with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expence and luxury with masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry both male and female; not in their passions only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court-service, which will be then thought honourable. There will be a queen of no less charge; in most likelihood outlandish and a papist, besides a queen-mother that is such already; together with both their courts and numerous train: then a royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous courts; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred-up then to the hopes not of public, but of court-offices, to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms, even of the closestool; and the lower their minds debased with court-opinions, contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier will be their pride and profuseness. We may well remember this not long since at home; nor need but look at present into the French court, where enticements and preferments daily draw-away and pervert the protestant nobility. As to the burden of expence, to our cost we shall soon know it; for any good to us deserving to be termed no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and their debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapening, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately

A description of the simple and sober manners of a Commonwealth.

The vicious manners of a Court.

The vast expence of it.



inconsiderately to a single person; who for any thing wherein the public really needs him, will have little else to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties,—to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of state,—to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it. For what can he be more than another man? who, even in the expression of a late court-poet, sits only like a great cipher sets to no purpose, before a long row of other significant figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the people, if their king be but a cipher, being oft-times a mischief, a pest, a scourge, of the nation, and (which is worse,) not to be removed, not to be controlled,—much less accused or brought to punishment,—without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking, and almost subversion, of the whole land: whereas in a free commonwealth, any governour, or chief counsellor, offending, may be removed and punished, without the least commotion. Certainly then that people must needs be mad, or strangely infatuated, who build the chief hope of their common happiness, or safety, on a single person; who, if he happens to be good, can do no more than another man; if to be bad, hath in his hands the power to do more evil without check, than millions of other men. The happiness of a nation must needs be firmest and certainest in a full and free council of their own electing, where no single person, but reason only, sways. And what madness is it for them who might manage nobly their own affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a single person; and, more like boys under age than men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be their servant, but their lord? How unmanly must it needs be, to count such a one *the breath of our nostrils*, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which, if we were aught else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue and industry?

Kings are for the most part useless.

And often mischievous; in which case 'tis difficult to punish or restrain them.



"Go to the ant, thou sluggard," saith Solomon; "consider her ways, and be wise; which having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest:" which evidently shows us, that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire. Neither are these diligent little creatures hence concluded to live in a state of lawless anarchy, nor is that state meant to be commended; but, they are set as examples, to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single domination of one imperious lord.

If the total want of foundation to the doctrine of an hereditary right to govern a people,

It may be well thought strange and wonderful that any nation, styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend *hereditary right* over them as their lord; whenas, by acknowledging that right, they conclude themselves to be his servants and his vassals, and so renounce their own freedom; which how a people, and their leaders especially, can do, who have fought so gloriously for liberty; how they can change their noble words and actions heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free people, into the base necessity of court-flatteries and prostrations, is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation should be so valorous and courageous to win their liberty in the field, and, when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their counsels, as not to know how to use it, value it, or what to do with it, or with themselves; but, after ten or twelve years of prosperous war and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken, and lay prostrate all the fruits of their victory for nought, at the feet of the vanquished, besides our loss of glory, and such an example as kings or tyrants never yet had the like to boast of,—will be an ignominy, if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation possessed of their liberty; worthy indeed themselves, whatsoever they be, to be for ever slaves!—But that part of the nation which consents not with them, (and which, I am persuaded, amounts to a great number,) are far worthier

worthier than, by their means, to be brought into the same bondage.

Considering these things, so plain, so rational, I cannot but yet further admire, on the other side, how any man, who hath the true principles of justice and true religion in him, can presume, or take upon him, to be a king and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as men or christians, to be, for the most part, every way equal or superior to himself: how he can display, with such vanity and ostentation, his regal splendour, so supereminently above other mortal men; or being a christian, can assume such extraordinary honour and worship to himself, while the kingdom of Christ, our common king and lord, is hid to this world, and the imitation of such a Gentilish mode of Government is forbidden in express words by himself to all his disciples. All protestants hold that Christ in his church hath left no vicegerent of his power; but himself, without a deputy, is the only head thereof, governing it from heaven. How then can any Christian man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the pope derives his headship over the church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such vicegerency from him in the state, as the pope pretends for his in the church, but hath expressly declared, that such regal dominion is from the Gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charged us not to imitate them therein?

That kingly Government is contrary to the precepts of Jesus Christ.

*Of the Means of settling a Free Commonwealth.*

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free commonwealth, without single person, or house of lords, is by far the best government, if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, been expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. It is true, indeed, that when the monarchy was dissolved, the form of a commonwealth should have forthwith been framed, and the practice thereof immediately begun; that the people might have soon been satisfied and delighted with the decent order, ease, and benefit thereof. And, if this had been done, we should have been by this time firmly rooted past all fear of commotions or mutations,

and now flourishing; but, this care of timely settling a new government, instead of the old, having been too much neglected hath been the cause of our present difficulties: yet the increase of these difficulties may be ascribed with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions, and dissolutions, which the parliament hath had, partly from the impatient or disaffected people, partly from some ambitious leaders in the army; much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the army itself, and their other commanders, once undeceived, or in their own power. Now is the opportunity, now the very season, wherein we may obtain a free commonwealth, and establish it forever in the land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are sent-out for elections, and, (which is worth observing,) in the name, not of any king; but o the keepers of our liberty, to summon a free parliament\*; which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honour of that supreme title, if they preserve us a free people. Which never parliament was more free to do; being now called (not, as heretofore, by the summons of a king, but) by the voice of liberty: and, if the people, laying-aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider their own good, both religious and civil, their own liberty, and the only means thereof, as shall be here laid-down before them, and will elect, for their knights and burgesses, virtuous, and able men; and according to the just and necessary qualifications (which, for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepealed, † as they were formerly decreed in parliament) men not addicted to a single person or a house of lords, the work is done; at least the foundation is firmly laid of a free commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free government (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one person) is a General Council of ablest men, chosen by the people to consult of public affairs, from time to time, for the common good. In this Grand Council must the sovereignty, (not transferred, but dele-

The present opportunity of calling a new parliament is a favourable one for settling the commonwealth upon a lasting foundation.

The true foundation of a free Government is a General Council freely elected by the People.

\*This tract of Milton was first published at London in February, 1659-60. See Dr. Birch's Life of Milton prefixed to his Edition of his Prose-works in two large volumes in quarto, page xliii.

† This probably means men who will be willing to take the Engagement instituted by the Commonwealth-Parliament, immediately after the death of king Charles the first, "to be faithful to the Commonwealth-Government of England without a king, or House of Lords."

gated only, and, as it were, deposited,) reside; with this caution they must have the forces by sea and land committed to them for preservation of the common peace and liberty; must raise and manage the public revenue, at least with some inspectors deputed for the satisfaction of the people, that they may know how it is employed; must make or propose, (as more expressly shall be said anon,) civil laws, treat of commerce, peace, or war, with foreign nations; and, for the carrying-on some particular affairs with more secrecy and expedition, must elect, (as they have done already,) out of their own number and others, a Council of State.

And, although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that mens' minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive parliaments; I affirm, that the Grand or General Council, being well-chosen, should be perpetual: for so their business is, or may be; and, oft-times, it is also urgent; the opportunity of success in public affairs being often gained, or lost, in a moment.

The day of the Council's meeting cannot be always the same, or set, or appointed before-hand, as the day of a festival is: but the Council must be ready always to prevent, or answer, all occasions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfullest, best provided of intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the people at home, and the people with them. The ship of the commonwealth is always under sail; the members of the Grand Council sit at the helm, to steer it; and, if they steer it well, what need is there to change them, it being rather dangerous? Add to this, that the Grand Council is both the foundation and the main pillar of the whole State; and, to move pillars and foundations, when they are not faulty, cannot be safe for the building. I see not, therefore, how we can be advantaged by successive and transitory parliaments; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle, rather than to settle, a free government, and to breed commotions, changes, novelties, and uncertainties, and to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all minds are in suspense with the expectation of a new assembly; and the assembly already chosen will, for a good space of time, be taken-up with the new-settling of itself. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make some, by altering or repealing,

The Parliament, or Grand Council of the nation, ought to be perpetual.

The inconvenience of successive parliaments.



If some succession be thought necessary, a partial rotation will be preferable to an entire new election.

former acts, or making and multiplying new ones; that they may seem to see what their predecessors saw not, and not to have been assembled for nothing: till all law be lost in the multitude of clashing statutes.

But, if the ambition of such men as think themselves injured, because they also do not partake of the government, makes them impatient till they be chosen, and unable to brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them; or, secondly, if it is feared, that a long continuance of the exercise of power may corrupt even sincerest men; the known expedient to be resorted-to in these cases is, and by some persons hath been lately propounded, that annually, to prevent this inconvenience, (or if the space be longer, so much, perhaps, the better) the third part of the senators may go out according to the precedence of their election, and the like number be chosen in their places, to prevent their settling of too absolute a power in their own body, if it should be perpetual: and this they call "a partial rotation." But I could wish, that this wheel, or partial wheel, in the State, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be done, without danger, and mischance of putting-out a great number of the best and ablest members of the Council: in whose stead, new elections may bring-in as many raw, unexperienced, and otherwise insufficient men, to the weakening, and much altering for the worse, of public transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual senate, especially one chosen or entrusted by the people, much in this land to be feared, where the well-affected part of the people, either in a standing army, or, in a settled militia, have their arms in their own hands. Safest therefore to me it seems, and of least hazard or interruption to public affairs, that none of the Grand Council shall be moved, unless by death, or upon just conviction of some crime: for what can be expected firm or steadfast, that is built on a floating foundation? However, I forejudge not any probable expedient, any temperament that can be found in things of this nature, which are so disputable on either side. Yet, lest this, which I affirm, may be thought to be my single opinion, I shall now add sufficient testimony in support of it.

Kingship itself is often recommended as being a safe and durable



durable form of Government, because the king, and, for the most part, his Council, is not changed during his life. But, upon the same grounds, a Commonwealth is justly held to be immortal, and therein the firmest and safest of all Governments, and most above the reach of fortune. For the death of a king causeth oft-times many dangerous alterations; but the death, now and then, of a senator is not felt, the main body of them still continuing permanent in the greatest and noblest commonwealths, and, as it were, eternal.

Therefore, among the Jews, the supreme council of Seventy, called the Sanhedrim, founded by Moses; in Athens that of Areopagus; in Sparta that of the Ancients, or Elders; in Rome the Senate; consisted of members chosen for term of life; and by that means remained, as it were, still the same to successive generations.

In Judea.

In Athens.

In Sparta.

In Rome.

In Venice indeed, they change oftener than every year some particular Council of state, as the Council of Six, or such other: but the true Senate, which upholds and sustains the government, is the whole Aristocracy, immoveable.

In Venice.

So, in the United Provinces, the States General, (which are indeed but a Council of State deputed by the whole union,) are not usually the same persons for above three or six years; but the States of every city, (in whom the sovereignty hath been placed time out of mind,) are a *standing senate*, without succession, and accounted, chiefly in that regard, the main prop of their liberty. And why they should be so in every well-ordered commonwealth, they who write of policy give these reasons: "That to make the senate successive, not only impairs the dignity and lustre of the senate, but weakens the whole commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger; while by this means the secrets of State are frequently divulged, and matters of greatest consequence committed to inexperienced and novice counsellors, who were utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledge of affairs past." I know not therefore what there should be peculiar in England, to make successive parliaments be thought safest, or convenient in this country, more than in other nations, unless it be the fickleness, which is attributed to us as we are islanders; but good education and acquire wisdom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watery situation.

In Holland.

### *The ready and easy Way*

the necessity of  
having another more  
popular assembly to  
controul the former,  
shown to be without  
grounds.

It will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual senates, they had also popular remedies against their growing too imperious; as in Athens, besides the Areopagus, another senate of four or five hundred members; in Sparta, *the Ephori*; in Rome, *the tribunes* of the people. But the event tells us, that these remedies either little availed the people, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridled democracy, that, in fine, they ruined themselves with their own excessive power. So that the main reason urged to prove that popular assemblies are to be trusted with the people's liberty, rather than a senate of principal men, namely "because great men will be still endeavouring to enlarge their power, but the common sort of people will be contented with retaining their own liberty," is, by experience, found to be false; none being more immoderate and ambitious to amplify their power, than such popularities, which were seen in the people of Rome; who were, at first, contented to have their tribunes, but at length contended with the senate, first, that one Consul, then that both, and soon after, that the Censors and Prætors also, should be created out of the Plebeians, and the whole empire put into their hands: adoring, lastly, those who most were adverse to the senate, till Marius, by fulfilling their inordinate desires, quite lost them all the power, for which they had so long been contending, and left them under the tyranny of Sylla. The balance, therefore, must be exactly so set, as to preserve and keep-up due authority on either side, as well in the senate as in the people. And this annual rotation of a senate to consist of three hundred, (as is lately propounded,) requires also another popular assembly consisting of upward of a thousand members with an answerable rotation. Which, besides that it will be liable to all those inconveniencies found in the foresaid remedies, cannot but be troublesome and chargeable, both in their motion and their session, to the whole land, unwieldy with their own bulk, unable, in so great a number, to mature their consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to sit a whole year lieger in one place, only now and then to hold-up a forest of fingers, or to convey, each man his bean, or his ballot, into the box, without reason shown or common deliberation; incontinent of secrets, if any be imparted

The inconveniencies of this larger popular assembly,

imparted to them; and emulous and always jarring with the other senate. The much better way, doubtless will be, in this wavering condition of our affairs, to defer the changing or circumscribing of our senate, more than may be done with ease, till the commonwealth be thoroughly settled in peace and safety, and they themselves give us the occasion. Military men hold it dangerous to change the form of battle in view of an enemy; neither did the people of Rome bandy with their senate, while any of the Tarquins lived, who were the enemies of their liberty; nor sought, by creating Tribunes, to defend themselves against the fear of their Patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of their kings, and, in full security of their state from that quarter, they had, or thought they had, just cause of apprehension given them by the senate.

Another way will be to well qualify and refine elections: not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualified, to nominate as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to choose a less number more judiciously, till after a third, or fourth, sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices to be esteemed the worthiest. And the best way to make the people fittest to choose their members, and the members chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty education, to teach the people faith, not without virtue, temperance, modesty, sobriety, parsimony, and justice; not to admire wealth or honour; to hate turbulence and ambition; to place every one his private welfare and happiness in the public peace, liberty, and safety. They shall not then need to be much mistrustful of their chosen patriots in the Grand Council; who will then be rightly called *the true keepers of our liberty*, though the most of their business will be in foreign affairs.

The elections should be made by two or three successive sets of electors.

But to prevent all mistrust, the people then will have their several ordinary assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious power and name of committees) in the chief towns of every county, without the trouble, charge, or timelost, of summoning and assembling them from far  
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The people should also have ordinary assemblies in their several counties with power to transact affairs of lesser importance.

in so great a number, and so long residing from their own houses, or removing of their families; and will thereby be enabled to do as much at home in their several shires, (entire or subdivided,) toward the securing of their liberty, as a numerous assembly of them, all formed and convened on purpose with the wariest rotation. Whereof I shall speak more ere the end of this discourse; for it may be referred to time, so we be still going-on by degrees to perfection. The people, well weighing and performing these things, I suppose, would have no cause to fear though the Parliament, abolishing that name, (as originally signifying but the *parly* of our lords and commons with the Norman king when he pleased to call them,) should, with certain limitations of their power, sit perpetual, if their ends be faithful and for a free commonwealth, under the name of a Grand, or General, Council. Till this be done, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainly and thoroughly settled; as we shall never be likely till then to see an end of our troubles and continual changes, or, at least, shall never enjoy the true settlement and assurance of our liberty.

The Grand Council thus firmly constituted to perpetuity, and still, upon the death, or default, of any member, supplied and kept in full number, there can be no cause alledged, why peace, justice, plentiful trade, and all prosperity, should not thereupon ensue throughout the whole land, with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilful sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful, and, only to be expected, king, only worthy as he is, our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained, since the work of our redemption finished, universal Lord of all mankind.

The way here propounded is plain, easy and open before us; without intricacies, without the introduction of new, or absolute, forms or terms, or exotic models; which forms and models could have no other effect than to manacle the native liberty of mankind; turning all virtue into prescription, servitude, and necessity, to the great impairing and frustrating of christian liberty. I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not entangled with inconveniences; invents no new incumbrances;

The general assembly of the people's representatives should not any more be called the Parliament but the Grand, or General, Council.

The plan here proposed is simple, and therefore practicable.



ees; requires no perilous, no injurious, alteration or circumscription, of mens lands and properties; secure, that in this commonwealth, (temporal and spiritual lords, who would be, being removed,) no man, or number of men, can attain to such wealth or vast possessions, as will need the hedge of an agrarian law (which has never been successful, but the cause rather of sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public liberty. To conclude, it can have no considerable objection made against it, that it is not practicable; lest it be said hereafter, that we gave up our liberty for want of a ready way, or distinct form, proposed, of a free commonwealth. And this felicity we shall have above our next neighbouring commonwealth of Holland (if we can keep us from the fond conceit of something like a duke of Venice, which has been put lately into many mens heads, by some one\* or other subtly driving-on, under that notion, his own ambitious ends to lurch a crown), that our liberty shall not be hampered, or hovered-over, by any engagement to such a potent family as the house of Nassau, of whom to stand in perpetual doubt and suspicion; but we shall live the clearest and absolutest free nation in the world.

On the contrary, if there be a king, (which the inconsiderate multitude are now so mad upon,) mark how far short we are like to come of all those happinesses, which in a free state we shall immediately be possessed-of. First, the Grand Council, which (as I showed before,) ought to sit perpetually (unless their leisure give them now and then some intermissions or vacations, easily manageable by the Council of State left sitting) shall be called, by the king's good will and utmost endeavour, as seldom as may be. For it is only the king's right, he will say, to call a parliament; and this he will do most commonly about his own affairs rather than the kingdom's, as will appear plainly so soon as they are called. For what will their business then be, and the chief expense of their time, but an endless tugging between petition of right and royal prerogative, about the negative voice, the militia, or new subsidies, demanded and oftentimes extorted, without reasonable cause appear-

None of the advantages of such a commonwealth will be obtained by re-admitting the king.

The parliament will then be called only to supply the king's extravagance.

\* This probably alludes to General Lambert, who had dissolved the Commonwealth-Parliament by military force, on the 11th of Oct. 1659.



The bishops and temporal lords will conspire with the king against the people's liberties.

A truly patriot king is seldom seen; therefore it is folly to expect such an one.

Aristotle's account of the origin of ancient common-wealth.

ing to the commons, who are the only true representatives of the people and their liberty, but will be then mingled with a court-faction; besides which, within their own walls, the sincere part of them, who stand faithful to the people, will again have to deal with two troublesome counter-working adversaries from without. of whom, some to wit, the bishops, or lords spiritual, are mere creatures of the Crown, and the greater part, as is likeliest, of the others, or temporal lords, are nothing concerned with the people's liberty. If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the people's interest, the parliament shall be soon dissolved, or shall sit and do nothing; not being suffered to remedy the least grievance, or enact aught advantageous to the people. Next, the Council of State shall not be chosen by the parliament, but by the king, and will therefore be still his own creatures, courtiers and favourites; who will be sure in all their counsels to set their master's grandeur and absolute power in what they are able, far above the people's liberty. I deny not but there may be a wise and virtuous king, who may regard the common good before his own, may have no vicious favourite, and may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest members of his parliament. But this rarely happens in a monarchy that is not elective; and it behoves not a wise nation to commit the sum of their well-being, the whole state of their safety, to fortune. What need they? and how absurd would it be, whenas they themselves, to whom his chief virtue will be but to hearken, may, with much better management and dispatch, with much more commendation of their own worth and magnanimity, govern without a master? Can the folly be paralleled, to adore and be slaves of a single person, for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can, or will, do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably, ourselves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise? to make a seasonable use of gravest authorities, experiences, and examples? Is it such an unspeakable joy to serve? such felicity to wear a yoke? To clink our shackles, locked-on by a pretended law of subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken-off, than those which are knocked-on by illegal injury and violence?

Aristotle, our chief instructor in the universities, (lest this

this doctrine be thought Sectarian, as the royalist would have it thought,) tells us in the third book of his Politics, "that certain men at first, for the matchless excellence of their virtue above others, or, as a reward for some great public benefit, were created kings by the people; in small cities and territories, and in the scarcity of others to be found like them. But, when they abused their power, and governments grew larger, and the number of prudent men increased, he informs us that then the people, soon deposing their tyrants, betook them in all civilised places, to the form of a free commonwealth." And why should we so disparage and prejudicate our own nation, as to fear a scarcity of able and worthy men united in counsel to govern us, if we will but use diligence and impartiality to find them out and chuse them, rather than yoke ourselves to a single person, the natural adversary and oppressor of liberty; who, (though he should be a great and well-disposed man,) is far easier to be corrupted by the excess of his single power and exaltation, than a Senate, or Council, chosen by the people; or, at best, he will not be comparably sufficient to bear the weight of government, nor equally disposed to make us happy in the enjoyment of our liberty under him.

But admit, that monarchy of itself may be convenient to some nations; yet to us, who have thrown it out, if it should be received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people: who shall be then so narrowly watched and kept so low, that, (though they would never so fain, and at the same expence of their blood and treasure as heretofore,) they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them: nor will they dare to go about it; but continue utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be, to other nations, "how sped the rebellious English?" and to our posterity, "how sped the rebels, your fathers?" This is

Monarchy will be the more pernicious to the English nation for its having been once abolished by them.

not merely my conjecture, but drawn from God's known denouncement against the gentilizing Israelites, who, (though they were governed in a commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only, being their king, and they his peculiar people,) yet affecting rather to resemble heathen nations, in their mode of government, but pretending to be dissatisfied with the misgovernment of Samuel's sons, (which was no more a reason to dislike their commonwealth than the violence of Eli's sons was imputable to that priesthood or religion,) clamoured for a king. They had their longing, but with this testimony of God's wrath; "Ye shall cry-out in that day, because of your king whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day." Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who, having been once delivered by him from a king, and not without wonderful acts of his Providence, yet being now insensible and unworthy of those high mercies, are returning precipitantly, (if he withhold us not,) back to the captivity from whence he freed us?

Restitution will be required of the king's and bishops' revenues, or new revenues of the same value must be raised instead of them.

Yet neither shall we obtain, or buy at an easy rate, this new gilded yoke, which thus transports us. A new royal revenue must be found, a new episcopal; for those two revenues are individual: both which being wholly dissipated, or bought by private persons or assigned for service done, and especially to the army, cannot be recovered without general detriment and confusion to men's estates, or a heavy imposition on all men's purses; benefit to none but to the worst and ignoblest sort of men, whose hope is to be either the ministers of court riot and excess, or the gainers by it.

Cruel revenges will be taken by the royalists on all their former enemies.

But, not to speak more of losses and extraordinary levies on our estates, what will then be the revenges and offences remembered and returned, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents; accounts and reparations that will be required, suits, indictments, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many, though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation? if not these, yet disfavour, discountenance, disregard, and contempt on all but the known

known royalist, or whom he favours, will be plenteous.

Nor let the newly royalized presbyterians persuade themselves, that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever conditions be contrived or trusted on. Will they not believe this; nor remember the pacification, how it was kept to the Scots; how other soleinn promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures, that now appear foremost and briskest in all public places, as the harbingers of those, that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolences, the menacings, the insultings, of our newly-animated common enemies, crept lately out of their holes,—their Hell, I might say, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spew of every drunkard, every ribald; nameless, yet not for want of licence, but for very-shame of their own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee, that they intend to second their wicked words, if ever they have power, with more wicked deeds. Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves, how their necks yoked with these tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of—not the preaching, but the sweating, tub,—inspired with nothing holier than the venereal pox,—can draw one way under monarchy to the establishing of church-discipline with these new disgorged atheisms: yet shall they not have the honour to yoke with these, but shall be yoked under them; these shall plough on their backs. And do they among them, who are so forward to bring-in the single person, think to be by him trusted, or long regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded, as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected, and soon after discarded, if not prosecuted for old traitors; the first inciters, beginners, and more, than to the third part, actors of all that followed. It will be found also, that there must be then, as necessarily as now (for the contrary part will be still feared), a standing army; which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest Cavaliers, of no less expense, and, perhaps, again under Rupert. But let this present army be sure that they shall soon be disbanded, and likeliest, without arrear or pay; and, being

The presbyterians, though now inclined to recal the king, will in a short time be persecuted, as much as the independents and republicans.

And a standing army composed of the most desperate Cavaliers will then be kept-up.

But the present army will certainly be disbanded.



disbanded, let them not be sure but they may as soon be questioned for being in arms against their king: the same let those also fear who have contributed money in the same cause; which will amount to no small number, who must then take their turn to be made delinquents and compounders.

The Royalists now  
boast that they are  
the majority of the  
Nation.

They who, past reason and recovery, are devoted to kingship, perhaps will answer, "that a greater part by far of the nation will have it so; and the rest therefore must yield." Not so much to convince these persons, (which I little hope,) as to confirm those who yield not, I reply; "that this greatest part of the nation, have, both in reason and, by the trial of just battle, lost the right of their election, what the government shall be:" and of those who have not lost that right, whether they who are for kingship be the greater number, who can certainly determine? But, if we should suppose that they are the greater number: yet of freedom they partake all alike, which is one main end of government; which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable, that most voices against the main end of government should enslave the less number that would be free? more just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number should compel a greater to retain, that (which can be no wrong to them,) their liberty, than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their own baseness, should compel a less most injuriously to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty have always a right to win it, and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we, above others, are concerned to defend it from kingship, and from them who, in pursuance thereof, so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain misery and thralldom, will be needless to repeat.

A minority may  
justly compel a ma-  
jority to retain their  
liberty.

Having thus far shown with what ease we may now obtain a free commonwealth, and, by it, with as much ease, all the freedom, peace, justice, and plenty, that we can desire; and on the other side, the difficulties, troubles, uncertainties, nay, rather, impossibilities, to enjoy these things



flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free commonwealth, than under kingship.

*Of Religious Liberty.*

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or in civil Liberty, As for spiritual liberty, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his revealed will, and the guidance of his holy spirit? That this is most pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant church allows no supreme judge, or rule, in matters of religion, but the scriptures; and these to be interpreted by the scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers liberty of conscience; I have heretofore proved at large in another treatise; and might yet further, by the public declarations, confessions, and admonitions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all histories since the Reformation.

Religious liberty,  
liberty of conscience.

This liberty of conscience, (which, above all other things, ought to be to all men dearest and most precious,) no government is more inclinable, not to favour only, but to protect, than a free commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless and confident of its own fair proceedings. Whereas kingship, though looking big, yet being indeed most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startled at every umbrage, as it hath been observed of old to have ever suspected most, and mistrusted those men who were in most esteem for virtue and generosity of mind, so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion those persons who are most reputed to be religious. Queen Elizabeth, though herself accounted so good a protestant, so moderate, and so confident of her subjects' love, would never give way so much as to presbyterian reformation in this land, (though once and again besought, as Camden relates,) but imprisoned and persecuted the very proposers thereof; alledging it as her mind and maxim unalterable, that such reformation would diminish regal authority. What liberty of conscience can we then expect of others, far worse principled from the cradle, trained-up and governed by Popish and Spanish counsels, and on such depending hitherto

Liberty of conscience is more easily and securely obtained under a commonwealth, than under a king.

Queen Elizabeth was averse to a presbyterian church government. Much more therefore will the bigotted Stuarts be so.

for subsistence? Especially what can this last parliament expect, who having revived lately and published the Covenant, have re-engaged themselves, never to readmit Episcopacy? Which there is no son of Charles returning hither but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge given him by his father, "to persevere in, not the doctrine only, but the government also of the church of England; and not to neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of errors and schisms;" among which he accounted presbytery to be one of the chief. Or if, notwithstanding that charge of his father, he submit to the Covenant, how will he keep faith to us, with disobedience to him; or regard that faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal charge, and the reluctance, — I may say the antipathy, which is in all kings, against Presbyterian and Independent discipline? For they hear the gospel speaking much of liberty; a word which monarchy and her bishops both fear and hate, but which a free commonwealth both favours and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing itself. But let our governors beware in time, lest their hard measure to liberty of conscience be found the rock whereon they shipwreck themselves, as others have now done before them in the course wherein God was directing their steerage to a free commonwealth; and the abandoning of all those whom they call sectaries, for the detected falsehood and \*ambition of some, be a wilful rejection of their own chief strength and interest in the freedom of all protestant religion, under what abusive name soever it may be calumniated.

N. B.

\*This seems to allude to Oliver-Cromwell's usurpation of the Protectorship.

### *Of Civil Liberty.*

The other part of our freedom consists in the civil rights and advancements of every person according to his merit: the enjoyment of our property and other rights being never more certain, and the access to offices of trust and profit never more open, than in a free commonwealth. Both which, in my opinion, may be best and soonest obtained, if every county in the land were made a kind of subordinate commonalty or commonwealth, and one chief town, or more, (according as the shire is in circuit,) were made *cities*, if they be not so called already; where the nobility and chief gentry, from a proportionable compass of territory annexed to each

Of the ordinary county assemblies hinted at above in page 361.

each city, may build houses, or palaces, befitting their quality, and, residing in them, may bear part in the government of the district, and make their own judicial laws, or use those that are already in force, and execute them by their own elected judicatures and judges, without appeal, in all things of civil government between man and man: so that they shall have justice in their own hands, and law executed fully and finally in their own counties and precincts; which is an advantage that has been long wished-for and spoken-of, but never yet obtained. And they will then have no one but themselves to blame, if justice be not duly administered. And they will have fewer laws to expect from the supreme authority; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to public liberty they may, without much trouble, in these commonalties, or in more general assemblies called to their cities from the whole territory on such occasion, declare and publish their assent or dissent by deputies, within a time limited, sent to the Grand Council; yet so as this their judgement declared, shall submit to the greater number of other counties or commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the United Provinces of Holland, each of those Provinces, being sovereign within itself, oft-times to the great disadvantage of that Union. In these employments they may much better than they do now, exercise their talents and fit themselves for the management of Publick Affairs, till their lot fall to be chosen into the Grand Council, according as their worth and merit shall be taken notice of by the people. As for controversies that shall happen between men, of several counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the capital city, or any other more commodious, indifferent, place, and equal judges. And this I find to have been practiced in the old Athenian Commonwealth, which is reputed the first and most ancient place of civility in Greece: "that they had in their several cities, a *peculiar*; and in Athens a *common* government; and had a right, as it befel them, to take a part in the administration of both."

N. B.  
Quære, whether this would not introduce a variety of laws in different counties, which might be attended with great inconveniencies.

They should have here also schools and academies at their own choice, wherein their children may be bred-up in their own sight to all learning and noble education; not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more

The education of youth might be more perfect under a Commonwealth.

### *The Ready and easy Way*

knowledge and civility, yea, and religion also, through all parts of the land, by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, (which now lie, as it were, benumbed and neglected,) would soon make the whole nation more industrious, and more ingenious at home; more potent, and more honourable abroad. To this a free commonwealth will easily assent; (nay, the parliament hath had already some such thing in design) for of all governments a commonwealth aims most to make the people flourishing, virtuous, noble, and high-spirited. But Monarchs will never permit these noble effects to take place, their aim being to make the people wealthy indeed, perhaps, and well-fleeced, for their own shearing, and the supply of regal prodigality; but otherwise to make them soft, base, vicious, servile, and easy to be kept under: and not only in fleece, but in mind also, as much like sheep as possible; and will have all the benches of judicature annexed to the throne, as if it was a gift of royal grace, that we have justice done us: whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a people, than to have the administration of justice, and all public ornaments, in their own election, and within their own bounds, without long travelling or depending upon remote places to obtain their right, or any civil accomplishment; so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general power and union of the whole republic. In which happy firmness, as in the particular above-mentioned, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not as they (to the retarding and distracting oft-times of their counsels or urgentest occasions) many sovereignties united in one commonwealth, but many commonwealths under one united and intrusted sovereignty. And when we have our forces by sea and land, either of a faithful army, or a settled militia, in our own hands, to the firm establishing of a free commonwealth, public accounts under our own inspection, general laws and taxes, with their causes, in our own domestic suffrages, judicial laws, offices, and ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of lords and commoners, that may any way divide or sever the public interest, removed; what can a perpetual senate have then, wherein to grow corrupt, wherein to en-

croach

The people's having the choice of their own judges, and justice administered to them in their own counties, would be a great advantage to them.

According to the plan of a Commonwealth here laid down, there would be little danger from the perpetual senate.



*To establish a Free Commonwealth.*

croach upon us, or usurp? Yet, if all this avail not to remove the fear, or envy, of a perpetual sitting, it may be easily provided, to change a third part of them yearly or every two or three years, as was above-mentioned; or that it be at those times in the people's choice, whether they will change them, or renew their power, as they shall find cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well considered; with few and easy things, now seasonably done. But, if the people be so affected as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship can restore trade;—not remembering the frequent plagues and pestilences, that then wasted this city, such as, through God's mercy, we never have felt since; and not observing that trade flourishes no where more than in the free commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before their eyes at this day;—yet, if the desire of an increase of trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support it but the luxurious expenses of a nation upon trifles or superfluities; so that, if the people generally should betake themselves to frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading; and that therefore we must forego and set to sale religion, liberty, honour, safety, and all concernments, divine or human, to keep up trading;—if, lastly, after all this light among us, the same reason shall pass for current, to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of their idol-queen, because they falsely imagined that they then lived in more plenty and prosperity;—we may then conclude that our condition is not sound, but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence; and will bring us soon, in the way we are marching, to those calamities, which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgements under foreign and domestic slavery: so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchising our government, whatever new conceit may now possess us. However, with all hazard I have ventured what I thought is my duty to speak in season

N. B.  
This seems to be a good expedient; that a part of the people should, every two, or three years, be at liberty to withdraw their commission from their representative, and chuse another in his stead.

N. B.  
This argument about trade is the same that has been, since so much enlarged upon, in the Fable of the Bees.



and to forewarn my country in time ; wherein I doubt not but there are many wise men in all places and degrees, that will agree with me ; but I am sorry the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things whereof I have spoken : but a few main matters now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right : and there will want at no time persons who are good at circumstances ; but men who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times, I find not many. What I have spoken, is the language of that cause which has been frequently and justly called "The good old Cause;" if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to back-sliders.

We ought not to abandon "the good old cause,"

### *The Conclusion.*

Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones ; and had none to cry to ; but with the prophet, "O earth, earth, earth !" to tell the very soil itself, what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free ! nor thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men !) to be the last words of our expiring liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenious men ; to some perhaps, whom God may raise to these stones to become children of reviving liberty ; and may reclaim, (though they seem now choosing them a captain back for Egypt,) to bethink themselves a little, and consider whether they are rushing ; to exhort this torrent also of the people, not to be so impetuous ; but to keep their due channel ; and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, (now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies,) to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurry us through the general defection of a misguided, and abused, multitude.

THE  
PRESENT MEANS  
AND  
BRIEF DELINEATION  
OF A  
FREE COMMONWEALTH,  
*Easy to be put in Practice,*  
AND  
WITHOUT DELAY.  
IN A LETTER TO GENERAL MONK.

Published from the Manuscript.



THE  
BRIEF DELINEATION  
OF A  
FREE COMMONWEALTH,  
&c.

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**F**IRST, all endeavours ought speedily to be used that the ensuing election be of such as are already firm, or inclinable to constitute a free commonwealth, (according to the former qualifications decreed in parliament, and not yet repealed, as I hear) without a single person, or house of lords. If the members chosen be not such, but the contrary, who foresees not, that our liberties will be utterly lost in this next parliament, without some powerful course taken, of speediest prevention? The speediest way will be to call-up forthwith the chief gentlemen out of every county; to lay before them (as your Excellency hath already done; both in your published letters to the army, and your declaration recited to the members of parliament) the danger and confusion of re-admitting kingship in this land; especially against the rules of all prudence and example, in a family once ejected, and thereby not to be trusted with the power of revenge: that you will not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free commonwealth; if they will first return immediately and elect them, by such at least of the people as are rightly qualified, a standing council in every city and great town, (which may then be dignified with the name of *city*) continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that place, with a competent territory adjoined; to assume the judicial laws, either those that are, or such as they themselves shall new-make severally, in each commonalty, and all judicatures, all magistracies, to the administration

N. B. This little tract contains the substance of what is more fully set forth in the foregoing discourse.

nistration of all justice between man and man, and all the ornaments of public civility, academies, and such like, in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several counties, or territories, may be determined, as they are here in London, or in some more convenient place, under equal judges.

Next, That in every such capital place, they will choose them the usual number of ablest knights and burgesses, engaged for a commonwealth, to make up the parliament, or (as it will from henceforth be better called) the Grand, or General, Council of the Nation: whose office must be, with due caution, to dispose of forces; both by sea and land, under the conduct of your Excellency, for the preservation of peace, both at home and abroad; and who must raise and manage the public revenue, but with provident inspection of their accompts; and must administer all foreign affairs, make all general laws, and make peace or war, but not without the assent of the standing council in each city, or such other General Assembly as may be called, on such occasion, from the whole territory; where they may, without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up their suffrages within a set time, by deputies appointed. Though this Grand Council be perpetual (as in that book\* I proved would be best and most conformable to best examples) yet they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in their hands, or power to endanger our liberty; and the people will have so much in theirs, to prevent them, (having all judicial laws in their own choice, and free votes in all those which concern generally the whole commonwealth,) that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our General Senate; which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our public liberty, peace, and union; through the whole commonwealth, and the transactors of our affairs with foreign nations.


If this yet be not thought enough, the known expedient may at length be used, of a partial rotation.

Lastly, if these gentlemen convocated refuse these fair  
and

\* Alluding to the foregoing discourse.



and noble offers of immediate liberty, and happy condition, no doubt there will be enough in every county who will thankfully accept them; your Excellency once more declaring publickly this to be your mind, and having a faithful veteran army, so ready, and glad to assist you in the prosecution thereof. For the full and absolute administration of law in every county, (which is the most difficult of these proposals,) hath been of most men long desired: and the not granting it has been held a general grievance. The rest, when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these constitutions proposed, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, and very noble, effects thereof, will be soon convinced, and by degrees come-in, of their own accord, to be partakers of so happy a government.





A  
LETTER

TO A

FRIEND,

CONCERNING

THE RUPTURES OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

PUBLISHED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT.



A  
LETTER TO A FRIEND,

&c.

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SIR,

UPON the sad and serious discourse which we fell into last night, concerning these dangerous ruptures of the Commonwealth, scarce yet in her infancy, which cannot be without some inward flaw in her bowels; I began to consider more intensely thereon than hitherto I have been wont, having resigned myself to the wisdom and care of those who had the government; and not thought that either God, or the public, required more of me, than my prayers for them that govern. And, since you have not only stirred-up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the state of affairs, more inwardly than I knew before; but also have desired me to set-down my opinion thereof, trusting to your ingenuity; I shall give you freely my apprehension, both of our present evils, and what expedients, (if God in mercy regard us,) may remove them.

I will begin with telling you how I was over-joyed, when I heard that the army, under the working of God's holy spirit, (as I thought, and still hope well) had been so far wrought to christian humility, and self-denial, as to confess in public their back-sliding from the good old cause, and to shew the fruits of their repentance, in the righteousness of their \*restoring the old famous parliament, which they had without just authority dissolved†; I call it the *famous* parliament, though not the harmless, since there are no persons well-affected, but will confess, that they have deserved much more of these nations, than they have undeserved. And I persuade me, that God was pleased with their restitution, signing it as he did, with such a signal victory, when so great a \* part of the nation had

\* May 7, 1659.

† April 20, 16

\* See the account of the several eminent persons who had agreed with Sir George Booth, to rise in arms to demand a new and free Parliament, in Dr. Price's History of the Restauration; page 2.

desperately



desperately conspired to call-back again their Ægyptian bondage. So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whose lips were yet scarce closed from giving thanks for that great deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again back-sliding into the same fault, which they confessed so lately, and so solemnly, to God and the world, and more lately punished in those Cheshire rebels; that they should now dissolve that parliament, which they themselves had re-established, and acknowledged for their supreme power in their other day's humble representation: and all this, for no apparent cause of public concernment to the Church or Commonwealth, but only for discomissioning nine great officers in the army; which had not been done, as is reported, but upon notice of their intentions against the parliament.

The 13th of October, 1659.

A just censure on the treacherous and ungrateful behaviour of the army, in dissolving the parliament, on the 13th of October, 1659.

I presume not to give my censure on this action, not knowing, (as I confess, I do not,) the bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cause be declared: and, I am sure, it will appear to all other nations, most illegal and scandalous, and, I fear me, even barbarous, or, rather, scarce to be exemplad amongst any barbarians, "that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the supreme power that set them up." This, I say, other nations will judge to the sad dishonour of that army, which was lately so renowned for the civilest and best-ordered army in the world, and, by us at home, for the most conscientious. Certainly, if the great officers and soldiers of the Holland, French, or Venetian forces, should thus sit in council, and write from garrison to garrison against their superiors, they might as easily reduce the king of France, or Duke of Venice, and put the United Provinces in like disorder and confusion. Why do they not do so, being most of them, held ignorant of true religion? They might answer, that it was because the light of nature, the laws of human society, the reverence of their magistrates, covenants, engagements, loyalty, and allegiance, keeps them in awe. How grievous will it then be? how infamous to the true religion which we profess? how dishonourable to the name of God, that his fear and the power of his knowledge,

knowledge, in an army professing to be his, should not work that obedience, that fidelity to their supreme magistrates, (who levied them and paid them,) which the light of nature, the laws of human society, covenants, and contracts, yea, common shame, works in other armies, amongst the worst of them? Which will undoubtedly pull-down the heavy judgement of God among us, who cannot but avenge these hypocrisies, violations of truth and holiness; if they be indeed so as they yet seem. For neither do I speak this in reproach to the army, but as jealous of their honour, inciting them to manifest and publish with all speed, some better cause of these their late actions, than hath hitherto appeared, and to find-out the Achan amongst them, whose close ambition (in all likelihood) abuses their honest natures, against their meaning, to these disorders, which will be found to be the readiest way, to bring-in again the common enemy, and, with him, the destruction of true religion, and civil liberty.

But, because our evils are now grown more dangerous and extreme, than to be remedied by complaints, it concerns us now to find-out what remedies may be likeliest to save us from approaching ruin. Being now in a state of anarchy, without a counselling and governing power, and the army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both military and civil affairs, the first thing to be found-out with all speed, without which no Commonwealth can subsist, must be a Senate, or General Council of State, in whom must be the power, first, to preserve the public peace; next, to superintend the commerce with foreign nations; and lastly, to raise moneys for the management of these affairs. This must either be the Parliament re-admitted to sit, or a Council of State allowed-of by the army, since they only now have the power. The terms to be stood-on are, liberty of conscience to all professing the Holy Scripture to be the rule of their faith and worship; and the abjuration of a single person. If the parliament be again thought-on, to salve honour on both sides, the well-affected party of the city, and the congregated churches, may be induced to mediate by public addresses, and brotherly beseechings;

The author's advice for new setting the government.

The two principal conditions to be insisted on.

N. B.

which,

N. B.

A mutual league and oath between the parliament, or other supreme council, and the army.

N. B.

\* General Lambert, was strongly suspected at this time of aiming at the Protectorship.

N. B.

which, if there be that saintship amongst us which is talked-of, ought to be of highest and undeniable persuasion to reconciliation. If the parliament be thought well dissolved, *as not complying fully to grant liberty of conscience, and the necessary consequence thereof, the removal of a forced maintenance from ministers*, then must the army forthwith chuse a council of state, whereof as many to be of the parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to these two conditions proposed. That which I conceive to be the only measure able to cement and unite forever the army, either to the parliament recalled, or to this chosen council, must be a mutual league and oath, private or public, not to desert one another till death; That is to say, that the army be kept-up, and all these officers in their places during life, and so likewise the parliament, or counsellors of state; which will be no way unjust, considering their known merits on either side, in council or in field, unless any be found false to any of these two principles, or otherwise personally criminous in the judgement of both parties. If such a union as this be not accepted on the army's part, be confident there is a single \* person underneath. That the army be upheld, the necessity of our affairs and factions will constrain long enough perhaps, to content the longest liver in the army. And whether the civil government be an annual democracy, or a perpetual aristocracy, is not to me a consideration for the extremities wherein we now are, and the hazard of our safety from our common enemy, who is gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an oligarchy, or the faction of a few, may be easily prevented by the members of their own choosing, who may be found to be infallibly constant to those two conditions forenamed, full liberty of conscience, and the abjuration of monarchy proposed: and the well-ordered committees of their faithfulest adherents in every county, may give this government the resemblance and effects of a perfect democracy. As for *the reformation of laws, and the places of judicature*, whether to be here, as at present, or in every county, as hath been long aimed at, and many such proposals, tending no doubt to public good, they may be considered in due time, when we are past these pernicious pangs, in a hopeful way of health, and

and a firm constitution. But, unless these things, which I have above proposed, one way or other, be once settled, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin; or at best become the servants of one, or other, single person, the secret author and fomentor of these disturbances. You have the sum of my present thoughts, as much as I understand of these affairs, freely imparted at your request, and the persuasion you wrought in me, that I might chance hereby to be some way serviceable to the Commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring to do what good they can, whether much or but little. With this you may do what you please; put-out, put-in, communicate, or suppress: you offend not me, who only have obeyed your opinion, that in doing what I have done, I might happen to offer something which might be of some use in this great time of need. However, I have, not been wanting to the opportunity which you presented before me, of shewing the readiness which I have in the midst of my unfitness, to whatever may be required of me, as a public duty.

October 20, 1659.





BRIEF NOTES

UPON A LATE

S E R M O N

TITLED,

THE FEAR OF GOD AND THE KING;

TREACHED AND SINCE PUBLISHED,

By MATTHEW GRIFFITH, D. D.

AND CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE KING.

Wherein many notorious Wrestings of Scripture, and  
other Falsities, are observed.



## BRIEF NOTES,

&amp;c.

**I** Affirmed in the preface of a late discourse, intituled, "The ready Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation," that the humour of returning to our old bondage was instilled of late by some deceivers; and to make good that what I then affirmed was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people: and, if I prove him not to be such, I refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

He begins in his epistle to the General \*, and moves cunningly for a licence to be admitted Physician both to Church and State; then sets-out his practice in physical terms, "a wholesome electuary to be taken every morning next our hearts;" tells us of the opposition which he met-with from the college of state-physicians, then lays before you his drugs and ingredients; "Strong purgatives in the pulpit, contempered of the myrrh of mortification, the aloes of confession and contrition, the rhubarb of restitution and satisfaction;" a pretty fantastic dose of divinity from a public mountebank, not unlike the fox, that turning pedlar, opened his pack of ware before the kid; though he now would seem, "to personate the good Samaritan," undertaking to "describe the rise and progress of our national malady, and to prescribe the only remedy;" which how he performs, we shall quickly see.

First, he would suborn St. Luke as his spokesman to the General, presuming, it seems, "to have had as perfect understanding of things from the very first," as the Evangelist had of his gospel; that the General, who hath so eminently born his part in the whole action, "might

\* General Monk.  
Dr. Griffiths first argument,

103 know the certainty of those things" better from him, a partial sequestered enemy; for so he presently appears, though covertly, and, like the tempter, commencing his address with an impudent calumny and affront to his Excellence, that he would be pleased "to carry-on what he had so happily begun in the name and cause" not of God only, which we doubt not, but "of his anointed," meaning the late king's son; to charge him most audaciously and falsely with the renouncing of his own public promises and declarations, both to the parliament and the army: and we trust his actions ere long will deter such insinuating slanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the General may well excuse him; for the Comforter himself escapes not his presumption, whom he has avouched as falsely, to have empowered to those designs "him and him only," who has solemnly-declared the contrary.<sup>2</sup> What fanatic, (against whom he so often inveighs,) could more presumptuously affirm that the Comforter hath empowered him, than this anti-fanatic,<sup>3</sup> (as he would be thought) has here done?

The Text.

Prov. xxiv, 21, "My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not, with them that be seditious, or desirous of change," &c.

The answer to it.

Letting pass matters not in controversy, I come to the main drift of your sermon, the *king*; which word here is either to signify any supreme magistrate, or else your latter object of fear is not universal, belongs not at all to many parts of Christendom, that have no king; and, in particular, not to us. - That we have no king since the putting-down of kingship in this commonwealth, is manifest by this last parliament, who, to the time of their dissolving, not only made no address at all to any king; but summoned this next Parliament to come by the writ formerly appointed of a free commonwealth, without restitution, or the least mention, of any kingly right or power, which could not be, if there were at present any king of England. The main part therefore

therefore of your sermon, if it mean a king in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your auditory to fear that which is not; or if the word *king* be here used; as it is understood; for any supreme magistrate, by your own exhortation they are in the first place not to meddle with you, as being yourself most of all the "seditious" meant here, and a king" whom the present government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain vision, "God and the King at the first blush" (which will not be your last blush) "seeming to stand in your text like those two cherubims on the mercy-seat, looking on each other." By this similitude, your conceited sanctuary, worse than the altar of Ahaz, patterned from Damascus, degrades God to a cherub, and raises your king to be his collateral in place, notwithstanding the other differences you put; which well agree with the court-letters, lately published; from this lord to the other lord, that cry him up for no less than angelical and celestial.

Your first observation, pag. 8, is, "That God and the king are coupled in the text, and what the Holy Ghost hath thus firmly combined; we may not, we must not dare to put asunder;" and yourself is the first man who puts them asunder by the first proof of your doctrine immediately following, Judg. vii, 20, which couples the sword of the Lord and Gideon, a man who not only was no king, but refused to be a king or monarch; when it was offered him, in the very next chapter, ver. 22, 23, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you." Here we see, that this worthy, heroic, deliverer of his country thought it to be best governed if the Lord governed it in that form of a free commonwealth, which they then enjoyed without a single person. And thus in your first scripture abused; and most impertinently cited, nay, against yourself, to prove, that: "kings at their coronation have a sword given them," which you interpret "the militia, the power of life and death put into their hands," against the declared judgement of our parliaments, nay, of all our laws, which reserve to themselves only the power



power of life and death, and render you, in their just resentment of this boldness, another Dr. Manwaring.

Dr. Griffith's second argument.

Your next proof is as false and frivolous, "The king," say you, "is God's sword-bearer;" true, but not the king only: for Gideon, by whom you seek to prove this, neither was, nor would be a king; and, as you yourself confess, pag. 40, "There be divers forms of government." "He bears not the sword in vain," Rom. xiii. 4: This also is as true of any lawful rulers, especially of such as are supreme; so that "Rulers," ver. 3, and therefore this present government, without whose authority you excite the people to a king, bear the sword as well as kings and as little in vain. "They fight against God, who resist his ordinance, and go about to wrest the sword out of the hands of his anointed." This is likewise granted: but who is *his anointed*? Not every king, but they only who were anointed or made kings by his special command; as Saul, David, and his race, which ended in the Messiah, (from whom no kings at this day can derive their title) Jehu, Cyrus, and if any others were by name appointed by him to some particular service: as for the rest of kings, all other supreme magistrates are as much the Lord's anointed as they; and our obedience is commanded equally to them all; "for there is no power but of God," Rom. viii. 1: and we are exhorted in the gospel to obey kings, or other magistrates, not that they are called any, where the Lord's anointed, but as they are the "Ordinance of man," 1 Pet. ii. 13. You, therefore, and other such false doctors, preaching kings to your auditory, as the Lord's only anointed, to withdraw people from the present government, by your own text are self-condemned, and not to be followed, not to be "meddled with," but to be noted, as, most of all others, the "seditious and desirous of change."

Dr. Griffith's third argument.  
The answer to it.

Your third proof is no less against yourself. Psal. cv. 15, "Touch not mine anointed:" For this is not spoken in behalf of kings, but spoken to reprove kings, that they should not touch his anointed saints and servants, the seed of Abraham, as the verse next before might have taught you: he reproveth kings for their sakes, saying, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets

no

no harm;" according to that, 2 Cor. i. 21. "He who hath anointed us, is God." But how well do you confirm one wrested scripture by another! 1 Sam. viii. 7. "They have not rejected thee, but me:" grossly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had "resisted or rejected," a king, but to them who, much against the will of God, had sought a king, and rejected a commonwealth, wherein they might have lived happily under the reign of God only, their king. Let the words interpret themselves; ver. 6. and 7: "But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, 'give us a king to judge us:' and Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, 'hearken unto the voice of the people, in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.'" Hence you conclude, "so indissoluble is the conjunction of God and the king." O notorious abuse of scripture! whenas you should have concluded, "so unwilling was God to give them a king;—so wide was the disjunction of God from a king. Is this the doctrine you boast of, to be 'so clear in itself, and like a mathematical principle, that needs no farther demonstration? Bad logic! bad mathematics! (for principles can have no demonstration at all) but worse divinity! O people of an implicit faith; no better than Romish, if these be thy prime teachers, who, to their credulous audience, dare thus juggle with scripture, to alledge those places for the proof of their doctrine, which are the plain refutation of it! And this is all the scripture which he brings to confirm his point.

The rest of his preachment is mere groundless chat, save here and there a few grains of corn scattered to entice the silly fowl into his net; interlaced here and there with some human reading, though slight, and not without geographical and historical mistakes: as pag. 29, Suevia the German dukedom, for Suecia the Northern kingdom: Philip of Macedon, who is generally understood of the great Alexander's father only, made contemporary, pag. 31, with T. Quintius the Roman commander, instead of T. Quintus, and the latter Philip: and pag. 44, Tully cited "in his third oration  
against

against Verres," to say of him, "that he was a wicked consul," who never was a consul: nor "Trojan sedition ever portrayed" by that verse of Virgil, which you cite pag. 47, as that of Troy: schoolboys could have told you, that there is nothing of Troy in that whole portraiture, as you call it, of sedition. These gross mistakes may justly bring in doubt your other loose citations, and that you take them up somewhere at the second or third hand rashly, and without due considering.

Nor are you happier in the relating, or in the moralizing, of your fable. "The frogs" (BEING ONCE A FREE NATION, saith the fable) "petitioning" Jupiter for a king: he tumbled among them a log: they found it insensible; they petitioned then for a king that should be active: he then sent them a crane (a STORK, saith the fable) "which straight fell to pecking them up." This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: whereas indeed the true moral shows rather the folly of those who, being free, seek to have a king; which, for the most part, either, as a log, lies heavy on his subjects, without doing aught worthy of his dignity and the charge that is necessary to maintain him, or, as a stork, is ever pecking them up, and devouring them.

But "by our fundamental laws, the king is the highest power," pag. 40. If we must hear mootings and law-lectures from the pulpit, what shame is it for a doctor of divinity not first to consider, that no law can be fundamental, but that which is grounded on the light of nature or right reason, commonly called *moral Law*: without which no form of government was ever counted to be any thing but arbitrary, and at all times in the choice of every free people, or their representers? This choice of government is so essential to their freedom, that longer than they have it, they are not free. In this land not only the late king and his posterity, but kingship itself hath been abrogated by a law; which involves with as good reason the posterity of a king forfeited to the people, as that law heretofore of treason against the king, attainted the children with the father. This law against both king and kingship they who most question, do not less question all enacted

enacted without the king and his anti-parliament at Oxford, though called *mongrel* by himself. If no law must be held good, but what passes in full parliament, then, surely, in exactness of legality, no member must be missing: for look, how many are missing, so many counties, or cities, that sent them, want their representers. But if, being once chosen, they serve for the whole nation, then any number, (which is sufficient for doing business,) may be considered as a full house; and most of all in times of discord, necessity, and danger. The king himself was bound by the old mode of parliaments; not to be absent, except in case of sickness, or some extraordinary occasion; and then to send his substitute; much less might any member be allowed to absent himself. If the king then, and many of the members with him, without leaving any person in his stead, forsook the parliament upon a mere panic fear, (as was at that time judged by most men,) and with an intention to levy war against them that sat, should they who were left sitting, break-up, or not dare to enact aught of nearest and presentest concernment to the public safety, for the punctilio of wanting of a full number, which no law-book in such extraordinary cases hath determined? Certainly, if it were lawful for them to fly from their charge upon pretence of private safety, it was much more lawful for these to sit and act in their trust what was necessary for the public safety. By a law therefore of parliament,—and of a parliament that conquered both Ireland, Scotland, and all their enemies in England, defended their friends, and were generally acknowledged for a parliament both at home and abroad—kingship was abolished: this law now of late hath been negatively repealed; yet kingship not positively restored, and I suppose never was established by any certain law in this land, nor possibly could be: for how could our forefathers bind us to any certain form of government, more than we can bind our posterity? If a people be put to war with their king for his misgovernment, and overcome him, the power is then undoubtedly in their own hands to determine how they will be governed for the future. The war was granted to be *just* by the king at the beginning of his last treaty; and it is still maintained to be so by this last Parliament, as appears by the qualification prescribed to the members of this parliament next ensuing, “that none shall

N. B,



N. B.

Of the different qualities of Free Commonwealths, and Monarchies.

shall be elected, who have borne arms against the parliament since the year 1641." If the war were just, the conquest was also just by the law of nations. And he who was the chief enemy, in all right ceased to be the king, especially after captivity, by the deciding verdict of war; and royalty with all her laws and pretensions yet remains in the victor's power, together with the choice of our future government.

Now, with respect to this choice, it must be observed that Free commonwealths have been ever counted fittest and properest for civil, virtuous, and industrious nations: abounding with prudent men worthy to govern; and Monarchy to be fittest to curb a degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious people. If we desire to be considered as persons of the former description, nothing can be better for us, nothing nobler, than a free commonwealth; but, if we will needs condemn ourselves to be of the latter description, despairing of our own virtue, industry, and the number of our able men, we may then, conscious of our own unworthiness to be governed better, sadly betake ourselves to our befitting thralldom. Yet if we choose for our Monarch a person out of our own number, who has best aided the people in the last contest against tyranny, we may, for the space of a reign or two, chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But "that a victorious people should give up themselves again to the vanquished," was never yet heard of, and seems rather void of all reason and good policy, and will, in all probability, subject the subduers to the subdued, will expose to revenge, to beggary, to ruin, and perpetual bondage, the victors under the vanquished: than which what can be more unworthy?

Another argument of Dr. Griffith's, from a passage of Scripture.

From misinterpreting our law, you return to do again the same with the holy scripture, and would prove the supremacy of English kings from 1 Pet. ii. 13. as if that were the apostle's work: wherein if he saith that "the king is supreme," he speaks so of him but as an "ordinance of man," and in respect of those "governors that are sent by him," not in respect of parliaments, which by the law of this land are his bridle; but are in vain his bridle, if they are not also his rider: and therefore have not only co-ordination with him, (which you falsely call seditious,) but have superiority above him, and that neither "against religion



religion," nor "right reason;" no nor against common law; for our kings reigned only by law. But the parliament is above all positive law, whether civil or common, and makes, or unmakes, them both; and still every latter parliament is above the former, above all the former law-givers, and therefore certainly above all precedent laws, and entailed the crown on whom it pleased; and, as a great lawyer saith, "is so transcendant and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds."

But your cry is, "that there can be no parliament without a king." If this be so, we have never had lawful kings, who have all been created kings either by such parliaments, or by conquest: if by such parliaments, they are in your allowance none: if by conquest, that conquest we have now conquered. So that as well by your own assertion as by ours, there can at present be no king. And how could that person be absolutely supreme, who reigned, not under law only, but under oath of his good demeanour, given to the people at his coronation, ere the people gave him his crown? and his principal oath was to maintain those laws, which the people should choose. If then the law itself, much more he who was but the keeper and minister of law, was in their choice; and both be subordinate to the performance of his duty sworn, and our sworn allegiance in order only to his performance.

You fall next on the consistorian Schismatics; for so you call Presbyterians, pag. 40, and judge them to have "enervated the king's supremacy by their opinions and practice, differing in many things only in terms from popery;" though some of those principles, which you there cite concerning kingship, are to be read in Aristotle's Politics, long ere popery was thought-on. The presbyterians therefore it concerns to be well forewarned of you betimes; and to them I leave you.

As for your examples of seditious men, pag. 54, &c. Cora, Absalom, Zimri, Sheba, to these you might with much more reason have added your own name, who "blow the trumpet of sedition" from your pulpit against the present government: in reward whereof they have sent you by this time, as I hear, to your "own place," for preaching open sedition, while you would seem to preach against it.

The king at his Co-  
ronation took an  
oath to observe the  
Laws of the kingdom

As

As for your Appendix annexed of the "Samaritan revived," finding it to be so foul a libel against all the well-affected of this land, since the very time of Ship-money; and against the whole parliament, both lords and commons, except those that fled to Oxford; and against the whole reformed church, not only in England and Scotland, but all over Europe (in comparison whereof you and your prelatical party are more truly *schismatics* and *sectarians*, nay, more properly *fanatics* in your fanes and gilded temples, than those whom you revile by those names); and meeting with no more scripture or solid reasoning in your "Samaritan wine and oil," than hath already been found sophisticated and adulterate, I leave your malignant narrative, as needing no other confutation, than the just censure already passed upon you by the Council of State.

FINIS.

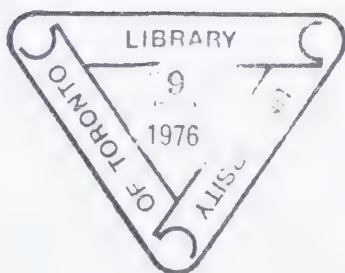
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